The Inner World of Childhood

Frances G. Wickes

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The Inner World of Childhood

A Study in Analytical Psychology

by

Frances G. Wickes

with an introduction by

Carl G. Jung

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TO

THE MEMORY OF MY SON

ELIPHALET WICKES

WHOSE FLAMELIKE SPIRIT

MADE CLEAR MANY THINGS

PREFACE

In the early years of my studies with children, I was deeply impressed with the fact that in their adjustments, or their failures to adjust, cause and effect seemed so surprisingly disproportionate. Acts extremely disconcerting to the adult suddenly intruded. A question as to motive frequently brought the reply: "I don't know why I did it." If an answer was insisted upon, something so fanciful was produced that the child might be accused of lying.

Often an interview which began with a sympathetic desire to help ended in baffled anger, politely termed righteous indignation, on the part of the adult, and in complete bewilderment, designated obstinacy, on the part of the child.

But did the child know why? Did we with our more adult understanding always know our own motives? I for one was convinced that I did not. I had frequently a suspicion that the adult who was so zealously pursuing the child's inner motive did not understand her own anger at the child's bewilderment. Was she genuinely distressed at the child's situation or emotionally disturbed because she had been made to feel powerless and inadequate? Did she resent being confronted with those power desires within herself which she was unable to control in a baffling situation? Honest answers to these doubts made one feel that so-called adulthood might only provide immunity to the type of question which could always be asked a child, but did not guarantee an understanding of the motives that ruled conduct.

Other questions forced themselves upon me. Why was a child, usually well-poised, suddenly deprived of the power of speech in certain recitations? It was evident that the child

derived no more enjoyment from the situation than did the teacher. Why should a child do well one year and badly the next? The innate mentality of the child had not varied so suddenly, nor could the entire burden be laid upon the instructor, for all children were not so affected. What had become of that intelligence and feeling which a year before had shown itself in quick mental grasp and delightful personal response? Where had that force gone, with what was it busying itself? It must be pursuing some activity apart from the situation at hand.

Were the conflicting reports of the school and the home in the case of certain children entirely due to prejudice or overindulgent love on the part of parent or teacher? In many cases it seemed as if there must be a satisfactory explanation if one could only penetrate deep enough; for when an apparently honest teacher and an equally honest parent were widely divergent in their estimate of a child, one could not dismiss this variance as mere prejudice on either side. The fact that I, a parent, was often at loggerheads with myself as an educator, and also with myself as an individual, forbade me to dismiss these questions as unimportant. Then this unwelcome thought continually intruded: here we are teaching children, and none of us seems to have an idea what a child really is.

It was while I was engrossed in this multitude of questions that my first knowledge of analytical psychology came to me. The revelations of the unconscious which were being used in the treatment of adults were as yet little applied in the educational field or in the attempt to understand ill-adapted children; I did not doubt, however, that here lay the answers to many of the questions that had perplexed me.

Then the children began to help me themselves. It was as though they sensed the love that lay back of my sympathy, bewildered as it often was. Shyly, very shyly, they began to open the doors that led to their inner world. They let me step a little way into that land of their own unconscious where

fears and unreasoned joyousness, phantasies and intuitions, moved and spoke. It was a surprising world, but gradually out of the multiplicity of apparently contradictory elements certain continuities and purposes began to emerge.

As I went farther, two things stood out clearly in this exploration of the kingdom of the unconscious. The first was that the most important element of early normal development was a sense of security in the fundamental relationships of life. The parents' love, understanding, courage, and honesty in facing the problems of life not only were the foundation of the patterns of the later emotional life, but also furnished the environment in which the child could grow normally with his psychic life firmly rooted in the security of wise and understanding love. This led back from the problem of the child to the problem of the parent and often necessitated an analysis of the adult most closely connected with the child's emotional life. Such an analysis could not be undertaken by anyone unless he had himself been analyzed and also possessed a theoretical and technical knowledge of the workings of the unconscious.

The second was the realization of the thread of purpose that ran through all these manifestations of the unconscious. Stepping into this inner world I found it peopled by fanciful, grotesque, even apparently meaningless characters who were playing their part in the child's psychological drama. Often he did not himself know the purpose for which they had been called into being.

The imaginary playmates, who took so important a place for a time and then silently vanished, were not mere amusing bits of childish imagination but were distinctly related to the problem of life with which the child was at that time confronted. They were used to integrate warring elements, to eliminate the undesirable, to furnish a pattern, or to compensate for a failure and to provide an excuse for retreat. Through an understanding of them one could obtain an insight,

not only into the particular problem, but also into the temperamental difficulties of the whole psychology of the individual.

There were other denizens of this land. Fears, hates, deceits, sudden masterful emotions walked about here. Many of them were masked figures whose faces could not easily be seen. It was only through love, through sympathy, through understanding, that these shy creatures could be induced to take off their masks and show themselves in their real form. Angers now might reveal themselves as fears; deceit and thievery as desire to obtain knowledge or love that had been unrightfully withheld; fears, apparently meaningless and disproportionate, became related to a hidden sense of insecurity, a forgotten experience, or could be followed far back to their origin in the collective unconscious.

It is these unmasked figures who are the real subjects of discussion in the following pages. They appear in dream, in fear, in phantasy, in anti-social rebellions, always in close relation to the special child in whose life drama they find their existence. A consideration of their importance brings the realization that we must take with us two things if we would enter into the inner world of childhood: love, and an understanding which includes both intuitive perception and deep technical knowledge of those forces which rule our conscious and unconscious life.

I wish to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to Dr. Carl Jung for the illumination and the inspiration which made possible this work. In the light of his theories and discoveries were revealed the deeper meanings of many of the cases here cited.

F. G. W.

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INTRODUCTION

This book is of a practical nature, which makes it all the more valuable for anyone interested in the real psychology of children. Not only a child's but man's psychology in general is not understood when envisaged as the subjective affair of the individual; almost the better part of it is *relationship*. At least that is to begin with the most accessible and practically the most important part of a child's mental life. The child is peculiarly attached to and intertwined with the parents' mental attitude. It is no wonder then that most nervous disorders of children start from a troubled psychic atmosphere of the parents. This book gives a number of remarkable instances of parental influence fatal for the child. I think no father and no mother can read these chapters without the feeling of their appalling truth. One cannot help realizing once more the banal yet inexorable truth of *exempla docent*—the example teaches! Not the good and wise words but the action, the actual life of the parents counts. And it does not help you when you even live up to your standard moral values, because the observation of laws and conventions may be nothing but a concealment for a subtle lie, just too refined to be recognized by your fellow beings. You might escape criticism, you might even deceive yourself believing in your obvious righteousness, but deep down below the superficial layers of the average conscience you hear a low voice that says: "It is wrong," no matter how strongly public opinion or the moral code emphasizes your righteousness. Certain cases in this book show very plainly the formidable existence of a law beyond human conventions and codifications—a law that cannot be deceived.

Apart from the problem of the environmental influence the

book lays stress on psychic factors that have to do with the child's soul rather than with his psyche. The latter can be the subject of scientific research, but the spiritual values, the appurtenances of the soul escape a merely intellectual treatment. It does not help to have sceptical views about them—nature does not care for your opinions—when you have to deal with man's soul, you can meet it only on its grounds. And you have to do it when you are confronted with the real and overwhelming problems of life.

I am glad the author did not mind leaving all doors open to intellectual criticism. True experience is never afraid of competent or incompetent objection. It has always the stronger position. This book is scientific in a higher sense of the word, despite the total absence of all scientific paraphernalia, because it gives us a true picture of the actually forthcoming difficulties in education. It deserves the most serious attention of all who are concerned with children through vocation or through duty.

CARL G. JUNG.

The Inner World of Childhood

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CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

No matter how simply we may attempt to treat the problems of modern analytical psychology, there are technical terms which must be defined, and a background of historical significance which must be explained, if the reader is to grasp the importance of these new discoveries in the interpretation of the forces of life. The more familiar terms have been defined in many places; yet, since they remain somewhat vague in the lay mind, a brief discussion of them is included here in the belief that it will make the rest of the volume more easily comprehended.

The term the *unconscious* has passed into common parlance. No longer is it a nebulous term denoting something evoked in modern black magic; nevertheless to many it still looms as a shadowy and monstrous ghost. Defined quite simply, the unconscious is that substratum in which exist all the contents of the psyche of which we are unaware at any given moment. It contains all the memories that are not in our immediate field of consciousness. That field is continually shifting. Any of these memories (either the objective memories of our outer life or the subjective memories of our inner life)

may at any time come to the surface and become conscious; or those things that are now conscious may drop back into the unconscious. Jung puts it thus:

> The conscious consists only of those complexes of ideas that are directly associated with the ego. The psychic factors which possess a certain intensity become attached to the ego; all that do not reach the necessary intensity, or those that have had it and lost it again, are below the threshold, subliminal, belonging to the sphere of the unconscious. On account of its indefinite extent the unconscious might be compared to the sea, with the conscious like an island towering out of its midst. This comparison, however, must not be pushed too far; for the relation of the conscious to the unconscious is in many ways essentially different from that of an island to the sea. It is not in any sense a stable relationship; it is a ceaseless welling-up, a constant shifting of content. The unconscious, like the conscious, is never at rest, nor ever at a standstill; it is something living, and it is in a perpetual state of interaction with the conscious. Conscious content which has lost its intensity, or actuality, sinks into the unconscious, and this we call forgetting: conversely out of the unconscious arise new ideas and tendencies, which, emerging into the conscious, are known to us as fancies and impulses. The unconscious is to a certain extent like a matrix, out of which the conscious grows gradually from small beginnings—not coming into the world a finished product.

To readers unfamiliar with analytical literature a brief historical survey may make the concept clearer.

The present-day knowledge of the unconscious is based, not upon theory, but upon experience with the working of its forces. The first understanding of it came through the study of cases of hysterical amnesia (forgetting).

It was shown that by means of hypnotism the patient was enabled to recall events, experiences, and emotional urges which were completely lost to conscious memory. These experiments of the French school were made the basis of further investigations by Carl G. Jung of Zurich and Sigmund Freud in Vienna, who showed that these forces were at work in the normal psyche as well as in the pathological cases.

While Jung was at work upon association tests, Freud was exploring the dream life of his patients, making the revolutionary discovery that the dream contained in symbolic or cartoon form pictures of the unconscious content which bore close relation to the immediate problem that was causing the neurotic illness. By a process of free association (talking freely of all the ideas suggested by the dream figures) various repressed contents were brought back to consciousness. In this way the patient could be made aware of unrecognized forces which were at work below the level of consciousness, drawing down the normal energy, or perhaps breaking through to the surface in fears or obsessive thoughts.

Freud was primarily concerned with tracing the root of the neurosis back to the instinctive or infantile level. His conception of the unconscious was that it was the storehouse of the infantile and perverted memories, especially the infantile sexual memories, which had been thrust down from the conscious mind by a system of repression. This material was guarded, he maintained, by a censor, who did not permit it to return to consciousness save through symbols. Since one of the greatest repressions of modern life has been the repression of the sexual, it is not surprising that he found so much infantile

sexuality in the unconscious. Though in theory he gave a psychic rather than a literal interpretation to sexuality, including in that term love and the creative impulses, yet his analysis was reductive. The creative, artistic, and religious strivings of man became nothing but an attempt to escape from primitive and infantile sexuality.

At this time Jung and Alfred Adler were both students of Freud. Adler was the first to break away from the exclusively sexual interpretation. He came to consider man's struggles as an expression of the ego instinct, a will to power, "the masculine protest." Neurosis, in this interpretation, rose from undue self-aggrandizement; or from a sense of inferiority roused by the failure of the individual to impress himself upon others, to conquer his environment; or from his powerlessness to achieve a goal which he had accepted but which too often had been chosen for him and was unsuited to the possibilities of his own nature. The ego instinct, which when baffled produces feelings of inferiority, was held by him to be the root instinct.

Jung, however, felt that no single instinct could adequately explain the infinitely varied possibilities of the aims of the human psyche. He found patients whose histories bore out the theories of Freud and others who fell under the category described by Adler. He realized that two men could look upon the same phenomenon and see totally different things and that this showed inherent differences in the psychological processes of the investigators themselves.

He found in the dream material presented to him something more than a representation of the neurotic problem and of the disguised personal repression of the

patient. He saw the attempt of the unconscious to present through symbols indications of a new way of life. He studied the material of the unconscious as an archæologist would explore a buried city. Above ground was the conscious, the ego which the patient presented to the world and to himself. Below this was the layer of forgotten personal memories and experiences. Some of these, as interest in them became less keen, had dropped out of consciousness by a perfectly normal process of forgetting, and if normal associations suggested them, they returned to consciousness without arousing resistance on the part of the patient. Other contents had been pushed down into the unconscious because of painful associations or disturbing qualities which had interfered with the attempted conscious attitude; by deliberately turning the back upon them and refusing to admit them to consciousness, the patient had at last pushed them down into the unconscious. Such are the "repressed memories" upon which Freud built his theories of the unconscious as the repository of the infantile and instinctive, at war with the civilized conscious of modern man.

This is the mechanism employed in neurosis. The patient separates himself from certain disagreeable experiences which have carried with them overweighted feelings, such as those of guilt or shame or inadequacy. He seeks by repressing them to be relieved of their burden, to separate himself from them. If this forgetting is carried to abnormal lengths, there is a resulting split in the personality. Hysterical forgetting, or so-called dual personality, may result; or the patient, finding himself unable to adapt to the demands of life, may take refuge in physical symptoms. The unconscious is not a mere

storehouse but a living force; and its power becomes here an added danger, for it exercises a magnetic attraction upon associated content in the conscious, drawing it down and so carrying the process of forgetting beyond conscious control.

Further explorations brought to light another type of material which could not be the product of the patient's personal experience. Here lie buried cosmic symbols, archetypal images carrying with them intuitions of spiritual or mystic meaning. In pathological cases where the whole attention is withdrawn from the world of outer reality, these images take an objective or personal form. They become ghosts, demons, voices of the gods. They have to the patient all the compelling power which gods and devils have to the primitive. They are objectifications of elemental hates, fears, or religious ecstasies—embodiments of racial experience. The patient loses his identity; he becomes a puppet ruled by blind forces which he mistakes for mysterious fate or for God. Here lies one of the lures of insanity. It permits us to lay upon this mysterious fate the burden of our own responsibility; it furnishes a retreat which we feel to be an adequate excuse for our own inability to adapt to life.

This is the abnormal aspect. In normal life we find persons who are creatively in touch with these underlying treasures of the unconscious. In them images of compelling beauty or terror, symbols of the spiritual experiences through which man has developed, mythological and cosmic images rise to the conscious and become the material of the poet, the artist, or the spiritual prophet. The images, in their chaotic state, lie in all of us; genius gives them form and new living values. The process

which is at work when a little child, denied sex knowledge, weaves a phantasy of swallowing a flower seed to get a baby (an old myth of impregnation) is the same that produces the stupendous images of fate in *Œdipus Rex.*

Jung has termed this lower layer the *collective unconscious.* It is our inheritance from ancestral and racial psychic life. In this broader view we see the unconscious, not simply as a repository for repressions or for forgotten or subliminal impressions, but as a great creative force, a stream of energy underlying all our psychic life, an energy which is undifferentiated, containing both good and evil, quickening either to death or to life, the manifestation of its force being dependent upon the orientation of the individual through whom it flows.

An intelligent study of the collective unconscious is necessary for those who would deal with the problems arising in the inner life of the child, but we are to use this knowledge only for understanding, never in the direct analysis of the child. His task is the integration of the conscious. We must, however, understand those images which well up from deep levels and appreciate their value in cultural expression and also in the collective attitudes of society. Primitives live largely in the collective unconscious; hence their legion of gods and demons and their absorption in magic. Children, too, are near this inner world; hence their abundant phantasy power and their easy belief in mythological beings. Credulity is a normal attitude of childhood. More will be said of this in later chapters.

Another way in which the collective unconscious constantly influences our conscious life is through collective ideas which owe their life to racial imprints. Whether

we like it or not, we cannot escape the pressure of psychic evolution. No matter how independently we seem to think, we cannot blot out the impressions made by generations of Christianity, or the extraverted attitudes produced by our Western scientific thought as against the mystic withdrawal of the East. We see the result of varying racial heritage in the diverse symbols produced during analysis from the collective unconscious of individuals of different races. This diversity of racial inheritance affects not only the form of the material produced, but also the attitude of the patient toward that material. All this is true of feeling as well as of thinking. Certain collective attitudes toward feeling are inherited as a result of gradually deepened brain imprints, so that special feeling reactions which are contrary to the accepted collective attitude cannot come through into the conscious.

In our conscious adaptation we have many thoughts which are merely the echoes of the collective thinking of the society in which we live. Only a few have become our own through a process of winnowing and choosing; fewer still are our own from true inner conviction. But it is these few that make our individuality.

Out of the world of collective images certain ones have arisen which have a compelling influence upon mankind. The image of the Jehovah god, the all-powerful father, is one of these. This image has changed with man's growth in knowledge and understanding, for man has continued to make God in his own image, that is, the image of the father which rises from his unconscious. This concept of the tribal father, with his power of life or death over his children and his subjection of the mother, is

seen by Freud as a menacing figure, yet one whose overthrowal is the origin of creative activity in man. It is the struggle of the son to "overthrow the father and possess the mother" which he sees as the central problem of mankind. It is this that he has termed the *Œdipus complex.* From the original slaying of the father by the son rose the sense of guilt, and from the possession of the mother rose incestuous infantile longings. In female psychology the process is reversed, the daughter longing for the death of the mother in order that she may possess the father. In Freud's case the father problem is evident in his refusal to recognize the findings of those who have been his followers. Psychologically he is the tribal father, and this problem of his own is projected into all of his findings. He sees the desire for the mother as an actual though unconscious sexual desire, which, because of the ancient incest barrier, is pushed down into the unconscious and finds its expression in infantile regressive acts. If the growing youth cannot break from the mother and find his love-life outside the family, then there is an infantile retreat and neurosis ensues.

Jung conceived of the problem symbolically. To him the desire of the child for the mother is the expression of the longing to remain a child, that is, to remain unconscious of himself and of the demands of adult life. Because the mother protects and guards the child, taking upon herself the responsibility for his well-being, she represents to him the happy irresponsible state before the awakening of consciousness and individual responsibility —the Garden of Eden. In this aspect she is "the terrible mother" who would swallow up his awakening individuality and keep him always a child, dependent upon

her. This is one side of the mother image; the other side is the mother as the giver of life.

The problem of development is "that we may have life, and have it more abundantly." So, psychologically, man seeks to return to the mother for a renewal of life, a rebirth into a higher attitude. He explores the unconscious, not that he may remain in a state of infantile unconsciousness, but that he may understand the forces that lie within himself and from contact with them may obtain a new way of life, a spiritual rebirth. As Antæus, in his battle, touched the mother earth and each time received double strength, so man goes back to this eternal mother for renewal of his life in greater consciousness. If Jung has himself turned to mysticism, it is not, as some of his critics have stated, to become lost in the labyrinth, but in order to find in that storehouse of spiritual experience those living symbols which have been the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night and have guided the race in the path of progress.

The image that is formed by a combination of the inner individual image and contact with the actual parent (or other person with whom relationship is formed) is termed in analytical psychology the *imago*. The problem of imago will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on adolescence.

The difference between the imago and the actual object shows the tendency of the mind to project upon others certain things which are a part of our own psychological processes. When we find within ourselves fears, weaknesses, angers, or other disturbing qualities, we may rid ourselves of their burden by fastening them upon some one outside ourselves. Often in adults whose conscious

attitude is one of extreme rectitude and outward charity, there are wellings up of unacknowledged hatred and resentment. Since it would be too disturbing to admit these to consciousness and have to reckon with them as related to the ego, some one outside is used as a peg on which to hang the garment which we cannot wear openly. If we accepted these things as a part of ourselves, we should have to say, "In spite of my conscious attitude of love, I have many bitternesses and resentments toward life which I will not face." We therefore attach these hatreds to some other person. Frequently I have had patients say to me, "If you could actually know how detestable a person he is, you would understand that it must be he who has upset my life, rather than anything within myself."

In the child, projection is one of the earliest forms of thought. He projects his own attitudes into things animate and inanimate. He endows inanimate things with personality, and his projection becomes universal. If he bumps himself, it is on a "bad" table; if he is angry, it is mother who is bad. The primitive uses this form of projection in his chiringas and his idols. Wherever hatred, or any unreasoning overemotion, is vented in abnormal proportion on an object *so that the subject cannot seem to escape from the object,* we may feel sure that the overweight of emotion is a projection.

Another form of infantile adaptation is identification. Identification is an unconscious process in which the attitudes of another are taken over and reacted to as if they were one's own. It differs from imitation in that imitation is a conscious process, in which we choose certain things that seem admirable, and strive to make them our

own by this means. There is a primary state of identity between the child and the parents, in which the child *is* a part of the parent. From this identity he emerges as he becomes individually conscious. If the process of individual growth becomes arrested and the child remains too long in that primary identity, a process of true identification takes place. Then the growing child takes over unconsciously the thought and feeling processes of a parent and accepts them as his own way of life. Frequently this identification is so prolonged as to block the development of the individual way. Then the emotional attitudes that fail to mature drop down into the unconscious and arise later to find their expression in infantile acts which are surprisingly at variance with the accepted conscious attitude. This will be illustrated later in the development of definite cases.

The process of growth necessitates the separation of the individual from these parental identifications, also from identification with collective ideas and accepted formulas. It requires the acceptance of the individual way, the highest *ought* of the personality. Such an aim necessitates the recognition of the whole man, the needs of his inner being and the demands of his outer adaptation.

When the life energy (the *libido*) is being turned toward subjective inner values, the process is termed *introversion*. When that same energy flows out in interest in objects, it is called *extraversion*. According to the predominance of one or the other of these two processes, a man is termed an *introvert* or an *extravert*. The balance between these two currents is one of the problems of the individuation which is the goal of analysis.

Introversion must be guided so that it may not become

morbid introspection, which shuts the person away from the world of human activity and human relationships, but rather a process making for greater understanding of these and leading at last to a realization of the god within. Extraversion must be controlled so that men may not become lost in the multiplicity of things, but may be able to meet squarely the responsibilities of adaptation to the world. Neither of these two forms of psychic activity may be emphasized at the expense of the other if man is to develop as a whole. Any attempt to stimulate the growth of one side while suppressing the other must result in frustration.

The man who has spent his life acceding to every demand of outer adaptation may awake to a sense of emptiness and futility. He has given himself away bit by bit, until no self remains with which to meet the ever-increasing demands of that very outer life which he has seemed so capably to serve. Introversion unbalanced by proper contacts with the objective world may lead into a land of shadows where the realities of human life appear monstrous and menacing.

Development toward maturity and individuation implies an increase of consciousness. If psychological adulthood is to be obtained, it must be through a greater understanding and control of the inner forces. There are certain abstract concepts necessary to our understanding which cannot be defined as we define concrete things. Such elusive terms as truth, beauty, God, freedom have a definite significance. This is true of certain psychological terms, such as *psychological adulthood.*

To be psychologically adult one must have found an individual way of life as distinguished from a mere

identification with collective standards. This does not mean a rebellion against the collective, for true individuation accepts the responsibility of the individual as part of the social order. This adulthood implies a conscious control not only of the intellectual functions but of the emotional life. It involves an acceptance of the self and of the task which life is presenting. It is not a crystallized or completed form but is a continuously evolving condition.

What has all this to do with our dealing with children? There we are confronted with problems quite different from those which we must meet in the analysis of an adult patient. Growth in consciousness in the adult involves self-scrutiny and careful examination of buried content which must often be brought slowly and painfully to light. The same process, which in an adult develops a higher, liberating form of consciousness, may develop in the child only a morbid self-consciousness or drive him into a world of phantasy which cuts him off from reality. We must ourselves have the knowledge of the perils which he may meet. We must know our own inner life if we would know the child.

No one would embark upon a journey without a vision of the destination, and one ought not to attempt to meet the problems of child development without a knowledge of the goal of that development. There is no way in which we can understand the problems of the child's unconscious except to have met and faced those problems in ourselves. The first requisite for one who wishes to work with ill-adapted children is a searching personal analysis. Only the free individual who has found his own way of life can help others to freedom.

In the meeting of any two persons the smallest point of contact is the conscious or known part; all the rest is in the unconscious unknown. Unless we understand the thing which the difficult, neurotic child may stir in our own unconscious, we cannot deal with him justly; nor can we estimate our influence over him unless we realize that all that we are is going to make up that influence. Besides this, we must be able to meet the problems of the parents, which often lead deep down into the unconscious life.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL DIFFICULTIES UPON THE UNCONSCIOUS OF THE CHILD

In our early contacts with the little child we must bear in mind two things. The first is that our goal is to help in the creation of a free individual, one who has found a way of life of his own and who is in conscious contact with the inner world as well as with the world without, who is not a puppet pulled by wires reaching up from the non-understood world of the unconscious, nor the limits of whose being are collective social ideas. Second, we must realize that psychologically, as well as physically, he is the result of racial development. The greater part of his life lies in the unconscious. He is a potential, bearing all the possibilities for good or evil, but all these possibilities lie embryonic in the unconscious from which he is developing.

We must think of life as developing from within as well as from without. The old psychology laid all the emphasis upon the growth through outer contacts. Sensation, reflexes, habit formation were the important phenomena. While it is quite true that these outer contacts are necessary and that without them we should be unable to develop out of a mere animal state of being, yet they are only one side of the picture; the other side is our growth in deeper life through making conscious those forces which lie buried within us all. A compendium of

child psychology would present both sides of the picture; here we deal with only one: the inner side.

At first the child has an infinitesimal conscious. The states of consciousness are fleeting impressions attached to no central or ego sense. There is no continuity of memory. Slowly these fragments begin to integrate and a sense of self develops. The child begins to think of himself as something separate from his surroundings. The "I" emerges; a personal life slowly takes form. At first the child is in a condition of identity with his surroundings and with the psyche of the parent. Even as the "I" emerges, the unconscious is still held in that close identification.

We recognize the physical and economic dependence of the child upon the father and mother. We do not attach sufficient importance to the psychic bond which in early childhood often amounts to a condition of identity of the unconscious of the child with the unconscious of the parent. Through this identification the disturbing forces that lie below the level of conscious adult life are intuited by the unconscious of the child and give rise in their milder forms to vague fears, apprehensive phantasies, and disturbing dreams. In the more tragic instances dissociation from reality, or antisocial acts result.

Until birth the child's body is actually part of the mother's. It is not until the umbilical cord is cut that this connection is severed and the child becomes a separate physical entity. The psychic cord still remains. Much more slowly does the child achieve a separate personality, one which is not linked with that of the parent. This does not mean that the child is psychologically a mere repetition of the parent; each one bears within him-

self the germ of his own individuality. We see in the same family children born of the same parents, submitted to the same environment, who nevertheless show from a very early age completely different type reactions. In spite of these marked differences in type each child is, in his own way, strongly affected in development or retardation of growth by the attitude of the parent and by the unconscious influences of those in the home.

Frequently in the analysis of an adult, where infantile conditions have continued over too long a period, we find an overemphasis of a normal reaction. This helps us to understand the underlying principle of psychological identification. It is possible for the unconscious life of one person to be so completely fed from the unconscious of another that it is as though the soul of the one so fed remained like an infant in the mother's womb, drawing sustenance through the psychic umbilical cord. If this be suddenly snapped it is as disastrous to the newborn individuality as the premature severing of the physical cord. When the unconscious is suddenly deprived of its food there may ensue a feeling of being utterly lost and cut off from life, an abnormal and hopeless type of grief.

A man of fifty had, from his earliest childhood, maintained such an identification with his mother. He had attained eminence in his profession, and his intellectual life was highly evolved, yet in his emotions and feelings he was still an infant dependent upon the mother for nourishment. He could go nowhere without her. Her influence reached into all his acts. When she died quite suddenly he was like an unborn infant cut off from his sources of life. Since individuality depends upon psychological development, not upon years, the psychological

cord had in this case been prematurely cut. It was severed before he was ready for a life of his own. He became a prey to irrational terrors. While engaged in his work he would all at once seem lost in a great void, his whole self dissolved in abysmal blackness. The terror ensuing was utterly engulfing and primeval. It was as though he had no self to oppose to this horrible force. He was swallowed up by it.

When he described this terror to me I was reminded of a story which a patient had told me of an experience of her childhood. When hardly more than a baby she had lost her mother in a holiday crowd. She said, "I have never felt any fear like it. I can feel the blind terror of it yet. I could not seem to see or hear, or to know where I was going. I was swallowed up in it. It was the most awful helplessness that I have ever known." The man's terror was like that of this lost child.

From the study of such a case we see not only the mysterious strength of these inner forces, but also the danger that arises when an infantile adaptation is continued past its proper time, and the burden of taking up adult life, whether of feeling or thinking, is not accepted. It is right that the little child should have this close identity with the parent. It is in this identity that he finds security in his first contacts with the outside world, and that his inner world is brought into connection with reality thinking. It is these contacts that make the difference between the development of the civilized child and the primitive.

The greater part of the psychic life of the child lies in the unconscious, as does the life of the primitive. With the primitive these unconscious forces remain the ruling

ones; for the collective society in which he develops is ruled by elemental fear and superstition, and love and hate, and in instinctive participation in the forces of nature. Phantasy thinking in his world is the reality, and the events of life are explained by magic and by myth. The child, like the primitive, is primarily a creature of sensation and intuition. Thought and feeling develop slowly. (I do not speak here of the first instinctive emotions but of feeling as a judging function.) Through sensation he comes into contact with the outer world of objects; through intuition he becomes aware of the inner forces at work in himself and in those about him. In his own inner world lie embryonic the phantasy building powers of the collective unconscious. From them he often weaves for himself strange explanations of the newly discovered world.

In our ignorance of the underlying spiritual truth of many of these phantasy explanations we may laugh at these phantasies. By so doing we cut ourselves off from one of the most vital sources of relationship with the child. Quite rightly he does not expose his inner life to ridicule, and the result of our amusement is that while the child continues to phantasy he takes the greatest care that these creatures of his imagination shall never again be exposed to our rude treatment. This attitude on our part is frequently because we have ourselves grown callous and indifferent to these spiritual symbols which are contained in the early myth and fairy tale. When we are cognizant of these inner values we can accept the phantasy for what it really is, a self-made fairy tale, and give the child the true explanation without doing violence to the inner processes. In accepting the irrational side of the

child, we have also strengthened the relationship. We all know how glad we are to find a person to whom we can tell our inmost thoughts, certain of a sympathetic understanding even though that understanding may be used to show us where we have gone far astray. It is important that we be sufficiently in touch with our own unconscious to respect and understand the workings of the unconscious of the child. We must keep this door of communication open between us so that his phantasy may not be used as a retreat from reality and a barrier between him and ourselves. The primitive is at the mercy of his unconscious, but the civilized child receives his education through an integration of the conscious and unconscious forces, drawing up the latter and subjecting them to contact with the cultural valuations of our adult world.

Much of our world means but little to a child; our conscious morality, our laws of right and wrong, have no special value for him. Even the words which we speak carry different meanings. It is our own reality that is always and ultimately the test of the value of our contacts with the child; and it is this which is recognized by his unconscious. It is the sum total of our personality which we give to the child. It is out of that sum total that we react to an emergency, and it is to that intuited sum total that the child reacts when he is desirous of pleasing us. This is true, however, only when we can establish a genuine relationship which is free from the attitudes and prejudices carried over from some previous relationship.

In analysis we speak of projections. That, in its simplest form, means that we read into the situation or into the other person something that really exists in

ourselves, or which we have found to be true in a previous relationship. We find, therefore, what we expect to find. A child carries over to his teacher certain attitudes which have developed in his life with his parents. If the parents have been evasive and have broken promises or met situations equivocally the child expects a similar attitude on the part of the teacher. What appears as a fundamental lack of trust in the child is really a projection of parental attributes upon the teacher.

The younger the child the less directly do we deal with the unconscious elements that give rise to his fears and maladjustments, and the more do we look to the unconscious of the adults who surround him; for all that lies behind the conscious life goes to make up the sum total of personality, the sum total of character, the impression that is given, and the influence brought to bear on others. We all know how the silence of one person can bear in it hostility or malignity, or how that of another can convey restfulness and peace.

Children gather from us the atmosphere of all that we most carefully ignore in ourselves. If our conscious goodness is founded on fear and repression, the atmosphere that we impart must be one of fear, restraint, or insincerity. If such destructive undercurrents are intuited by the child he may resent the commands which seem reasonable; then resistance is raised and the spirit of rebellion against authority is engendered. If, on the other hand, our attitude is a conscious acceptance of our own highest law, and a readiness to face the ever-present forces within ourselves which may become manifest in evil as well as in good, then by that very attitude we stimulate a growth toward life and courage. The child

then reacts to the motive which rules us, as well as to our spoken word.

Few of us realize how much our goodness is an acceptance of public conscience, and traditional faith, instead of an individual acceptance of our own right and a conscious struggle for growth. Therefore, if we are afraid to face a thing in ourselves, and if, instead, we repress it, it is bound to avenge itself by filling us with resentments and bitterness toward those who have more courage. This is felt by the child, and erects a barrier which his confidence cannot pass. His unconscious recognizes behind the conscious attitude this destructive thing from which his inner life must hide.

We must remember that it is not the existence of the problem itself, but our own attitude toward it that gives it power for good and evil, whether in our own lives or in our children's. Out of poverty may come determination, undaunted courage, and cheerfulness; or degradation, meanness, sodden resignation, and spiritual apathy. Out of riches may come selfishness, sensuousness, gratification, materialism; or opportunity, service, culture. In either case it is not necessary that the bank account be known by the child in order that he may be profoundly influenced by the attitude toward money, and the general atmosphere of the home.

It is the same with moral and psychological problems. The child need not, usually should not, know the actual problem, for often it is one that taxes all our adult understanding to the utmost, and its knowledge would impose far too heavy a burden upon the childish mind. But we should face the problem fairly ourselves, we should drag it out into the light of our consciousness and attempt to

relate it fearlessly to the conduct of our own lives. The child then intuits the strength, courage, and honesty that come from a real attempt at understanding, instead of that lurking fear, cowardice, and doubt that come from shutting the skeleton in the closet and always knowing that it is there. Have you ever entered a room where the atmosphere is surcharged with hostility and suspicion though outwardly it is filled with courteous, friendly people? You sense these uninvited guests that are crowding all about. It is this sort of thing which the child intuits—the fears we will not face, the unwelcome forces within ourselves which we pretend to solve by repression instead of through understanding. It is this distinction that is often so hard for parents to grasp. When you tell them that the child is suffering from the weight of their own unsolved problem they reply, "But surely you would not have us tell the child about it, he is too little." Of course he is. Why should he carry the burden that thus far has proved too hard for them? But while they refuse to face it consciously and it remains, unsolved but operative, in their own unconscious life, they are placing on him a heavier burden, that of vague fear and mistrust of life which his own unconscious intuits from theirs. Many of us are so factually minded that we realize the importance of the objective experience, but are quite blind to the intensity and force of those intuitive experiences, which come when the child feels all that lies below the surface, though he is unable consciously to formulate these feelings even to himself.

It becomes apparent therefore that when we are dealing with the neurotic difficulties of children it behooves us to examine the unconscious life of the parent, for when

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his difficulties are cleared the troubles of the child often vanish of themselves.

An analysis of several cases which bear out the theory of identification will perhaps prove more enlightening than further discussion of the theory itself. These are all histories of definite findings and they have not only the theoretic value but the pragmatic one. They worked out in results. In each one the unsolved problem of the parent was intuited by the unconscious of the child. These intuitions started disturbing undercurrents, which in their turn worked themselves out in unsocial acts, or resulted in neurotic conditions of anxiety, terror, extreme dependence, or unbalanced emotional conditions. In all of these cases it was the parent who needed analysis and who had to be brought to an understanding of his own unconscious repressions. In each instance the outer life was apparently well adjusted. The needs of the children were not consciously neglected. All the questions of proper environment, and physical or educational care had received conscientious attention. Also in many cases there was not only love, but even an overemphasis of love; and a strong attachment existed between the child and the parent. Yet in each case we see how the child is handicapped in normal adjustment by things of which he was supposed to be entirely unconscious.

The first case illustrates the keenness with which the actual problem of the parent may be intuited, and the way in which the unconscious of the child accepts the responsibility for its solution. The child in question was a little nine-year-old girl who had a strong father identification. Their relationship was very real. This increased the difficulty, for the strength of the bond of love

and sympathy, not only in the conscious but also in the unconscious, militates to reënforce the neurosis should one arise through a parental problem. The father had suffered a severe nervous breakdown. He was unable to take up work or to return to normal relations in the outside world. His whole self was in a condition of retreat, his attitude toward life was one of defense. The child was nervous, underweight, and subject to night terrors. One night she woke screaming and trembling. She told the following dream.

"I was Thetis and Arthur was my son, Achilles, and he would not fight. There was a great battle and he ought to fight. So I got two shields and I gave him one and I made him go out, and I went with him and we had to fight. I was afraid but I had to make him fight."

This battle clearly is not her own but her father's. In this dream the child lives out for her father the solution that he is seeking in his own unconscious where he has never really accepted his neurosis as a way of life. She becomes, in a manner, the personification of his conscience, his moral sense. She shows him the way that he must take. In the dream she assumes the rôle of mother and in that capacity she sees it her duty to drive the son out into the world, to force him once more into the battle of life. She is afraid, yet her love makes her fight with him spiritually and psychologically through her identification.

Apparently this child was shielded from every harm, and had everything that money and love could provide. Actually she was bearing a burden far too heavy, and it was a burden that could be lifted in only one way—through the acceptance by the father himself of the

problem of his own adaptation to life. Neither an increase of love on the father's part nor a rude attempt to break the bond in the unconscious would avail anything. There was no way out except to face the actual problem. To analyze such a dream with a child would result in greater confusion and disaster. It would add to the unconscious apprehension a conscious fear. One could not say to this child "It is really your father who is afraid and who is not facing life. You are only afraid because he is." That would be to fasten the burden still more firmly upon the child. When the father did take up the problem of his own infantile attitude the child's night terrors ceased. She began to sleep peacefully, to gain in weight and to make a normal adaptation as soon as the father took up courageously his own psychological burdens.

The second case is that of another little girl who was suffering from night terrors, sudden fears, nervous hesitations, and an inability to concentrate on her school work. She had received a careful physical examination, and the report showed the existence of no difficulty beyond the indefinite one of being slightly under par. On the surface there appeared to be nothing to disturb this child's life.

The father was a professional man who was meeting with rather more than the ordinary amount of success; the mother an attractive, somewhat oversolicitous woman who was apparently devoted to the child, and who spent a good deal of time with her. The young woman who had charge of her during certain hours of the day was kindly, sympathetic, and patient. There were apparently no special difficulties, material or otherwise. The child, however, gave one the impression of having a continuous

sense of insecurity. Usually she was in retreat from persons and surroundings, apart from the situation; but at times she would show a clinging, almost bewildered dependence upon the adult in whose charge she found herself. At home she was described as being "quite a little mother." She liked to run errands for her father and to do small things for his comfort. He, on his side, lavished far more affection on her than on any of his other children. He was delighted and amused at her motherly attention and made a great baby of her.

She seemed always uneasy at parting from either parent, especially the mother, showing almost as much dread as though she might not find them on her return. She was reticent about her night terrors, but as her dreams came to light they were of sinking in a sea, falling suddenly, being lost and not able to get back. There was nothing definite in the dreams which would give any clue to the situation, beyond emphasizing the abnormal sense of insecurity. As soon as her unconscious took charge in sleep it showed how small was her sense of safety. This, taken in connection with her unreasonable and unreasoned fear of losing her father and mother whenever she was separated from them in an ordinary way, pointed to some extreme instability in the family relationship quite apart from the individual relationship of the parents to her.

Except in the case of extreme indulgence it is not normal that a child should have such fears when the parents leave home or when he is starting for school or play. The business in hand is too alluring and the sense of the home too secure to demand any anxious thought. Since nothing abnormal in the child seemed to

warrant such a condition it seemed reasonable to suppose that there was here an intuition of some hidden danger, for those undercurrents which may sweep away the established foundations are often sensed by the unconscious of the child.

The mother had been brought up in a home where the father's authority had been negligible and his children had missed any positive relation with him. This daughter had tried to find the missing authority in an early marriage with a man who was of an opposite type, positive, authoritative, dominant male. But here she had only exchanged one difficulty for another, for she was still the child. Her husband in his psychological development had never passed beyond the tribal attitudes. To him the man was still the patriarch, the absolute ruler of the home. The wife at best was a sort of favorite child who was dependent upon him for even her thought life. Not strong enough to combat this she had taken refuge in living for her children. Such a substituted life will not satisfy. More and more she was conscious of tides of hatred and resentment which made her at times do most unexpected things.

Some time before the birth of this child she had formed a friendship with an old acquaintance of her brother's. It was a mere embryonic thing which might or might not have developed into something real. The husband became jealous and forbade her seeing him, and succeeded in fastening on her a sense of guilt, so that the man became to her a symbol of sinful possibilities within herself. To expiate this she gave herself with more slavish devotion to her children, enveloping them in an unwise love, trying to shield them from the consequences of any mistakes

that they might make. Her real guilt was, of course, in abandoning her own individuality, in denying her real values as a human being. This she had been doing for years; this incident served only to crystallize the situation. She shut the door on the possibility of love with all its responsibilities and, suffering the punishment of the murderer, she found herself now given over to fears, to suspicions, and to hatreds that were quite out of keeping with the conscious attitude of Christian self-sacrifice. She began to take a strange delight in helping the children to outwit their father, telling herself that she was running risks for their good. Especially she hugged her sense of guilt for it gave her an excuse for entertaining ideas of suicide which were becoming more and more fascinating to her as a means of escape.

Is it remarkable that, with such evil undercurrents, the child could feel no sense of security? All the children suffered in various ways; but this one, *receiving the most love,* suffered most, for her unconscious was thereby brought into closer relation to that of her parents.

Facts like these are more revealing than any deduction that we can make. Here again was a child with every material want supplied, and with the love of both parents, yet she was breaking under a burden heavier than neglect. The father, who believed himself to be a model parent, insisted that the children should find their lives only through him. The mother struggled frantically to find her life only through them. Neither parent was working out his own salvation or respecting the individuality of the child. In either case the child was used as something to fulfill the parent. The failure shows that we cannot live our lives by proxy, and illustrates the truth that each

one of us must find the way to individual success, instead of handing the unfulfilled task on to the children.

As a result of the fact that neither parent had a real individuality, the child had no sense of security in relationship. It was as though there were no actual parents. The man, who prided himself on his masculinity, was a mere expression of old images from the collective unconscious. He had no individual self, but was a mere identification with this old pattern. The woman, having refused the responsibility for her own life, tried to find her justification in a "self-sacrifice" in which the real sacrifice was the child. The normal process of identity with the parent, which gives an early security from which the child as an individual slowly emerges, was denied this child. This was because the parents were themselves unreal; they were mere shadows of the unconscious. The father was too satisfied with his own adaption to see any such need of change. He set up the image of the Jehovah God, and worshiped it in himself. The mother, more able to see her need, did work out some individuality and in so doing greatly helped the child.

That the first interview was to be made as brief as possible was evident from the moment that the mother entered the room. She had brought the child herself only because the physician who had asked me to take the case had told her that she must do so. The child was "nervous," listless, was doing badly in her school work, and had night terrors. There was "nothing really the matter." If I would "just talk to her and stop her from being so silly." They had tried tonics; "oh, everything had been done for her always." During this conversation the child had sat obediently in a big chair in

an adjoining room, quietly occupied with a big book. She could not be left with me that day; it would not "be convenient." I arranged that she be brought the next day by the person who was with her most (who proved to be the nurse) and left for an hour or two.

The next day they arrived on the moment of the appointment. The nurse was a large dominating type of woman, of the order usually described as competent. Under one arm she carried a satisfied, arrogant, little Pomeranian. The child seemed almost effaced from the landscape. It took only a few moments to see that she was in terror of the woman. At the end of the hour when the nurse returned the child immediately shrank back into self-effacing shadows.

I sent for the mother, who again tucked the interview into an odd moment. I told her that the first difficulty was to be found in the relationship with the nurse, of whom the child was evidently in great fear. "I know," she answered with some irritation, "that she can't get along with Elizabeth, but you see we have never had any one who was so good to the dog."

The mother was in love with the dog! An infantile woman, petted, spoiled, utterly selfish, but fond of attention and caresses, she had failed to make any real relationship with her husband, who had tired of her eternal baby ways. The baby, at first viewed as a doll, was soon an annoying disturbance. Human love required adult attitudes and the acceptance of adult responsibilities. It was too hard. Sexuality was "horrid" but it was "nice" to be petted. Failing in all real love relations, she had made the dog the surrogate. Sometimes she did not see the child for two or three days. She was at

school before the mother waked, and the mother was out when she came back. The dog was brought in with the breakfast tray and was "too cunning." She saw him the first thing every morning.

The woman had no desire to grow up. She preferred to treat the serious things in the situation as fantastic nonsense. Had it not been for the father, a materialistic business man, but a man accustomed to put things through, the nurse would undoubtedly have remained with the little girl, and nothing could have been done. He, however, insisted on a change, and a placid, motherly woman was provided. She furnished a background of serenity and security. The child made a mother-transference to her and that transference, combined with the help that I could give to her, did much toward restoring nervous poise. The physical symptoms disappeared and she was able to take her place in school.

It was at best only a substitute and could not take the place of the love tie which was the child's normal right. Her phantasies about her "beautiful mother" showed how deep was the longing for reality. At its best the tie with the nurse could not fill the needed place. It could not grow into a true relationship later. It would probably be a broken one, not one evolved into an adult comradeship. Unless she had very wise handling at the period of psychological puberty, she would unconsciously be ever seeking the things which she had missed as a child.

The mother, turning from her task in life, could not fail to be caught in the futility of the trivialities which she chose. Her loss was even more tragic than that of the child. Sometimes, with this infantile type of parent,

the child will be made to fill the position of pet animal. A mother will caress and fondle him with overemotional physical demonstration when in the mood, but push him off with indifference or unconcealed annoyance when he becomes tiresome, when her own mood has changed. This is not only baffling to the child, destroying all his sense of security and continuity in the life of feeling, but it arouses also tempestuous emotions which, unsatisfied, can only feed themselves in phantasy or auto-erotic practices.

Lack of love and understanding between parents is most disastrous to the child whether it works out in this spasmodic demonstration or in the attempt of either parent to make the child compensate for the love that is missing. It is a common practice of unhappily mated couples to take it out on the child, using him as a vehicle to drain off the extra emotionalism, which is frequently of an unconscious and primitive type. This emotion may be pent-up hatred or love, but it does not really belong to the child. It is a mere effort at self-satisfaction of the parental need. Since it is, therefore, insincere at root, it cannot be productive of reality. Whenever we make a relationship with the child on any basis but that of his own individuality, we violate something in his soul.

When these overintense feelings are turned back upon the child, he feels a hopeless sense of inadequacy. What has he done that the love that seemed so surely his is his no longer? Some crime, unconscious perhaps, must have been committed by him. A man who has been made the puppet of his mother's undeveloped emotions may fear ever to make a relationship with a woman, or, having made one, may seek the continual reassurance

of exaggerated tenderness and maternal demonstration from his wife, or from a mistress on whom he can vent the tempestuous primitive demonstration or from whom he can feel he continually receives it.

If the parent refuses to grow up and to accept his problem, the only way in which the child can grow up and be freed from these compelling forces in the unconscious is to see the parent as he is, and to break from the bond. In this case the parent must lose the child before he can become himself. It is an irrevocable loss, for no new and finer comradeship takes the place of the outgrown one. Such parents are usually loud in their protests against the ingratitude of the children and their lack of natural feeling. They lay to cruel fate the thing which they have brought upon themselves.

Another example of the results of the unhappy marriage is shown in the following case. A boy was deceitful, willful, and frequently cruel to other children. He was doing badly in school and was reported as seeming to have "sufficient mental ability but little moral sense." Early in the interview he gave indications of being a child with strong emotional nature but with very little conscious affection and no stable relationships. Since it was necessary to have some legitimate approach for the first interviews where the task was to gain his interest and trust, we first took up the difficult problems of the school work. I was soon convinced that the difficulties were not all of his own making.

The first interviews with the mother, who really tried to be frank with me, brought out the fact that from his early infancy she had felt an instinctive repulsion toward him, and that though she had never let this affect her

attitude, and had been all the more scrupulous in doing her full duty, there were times when she "could hardly bear to have him near her." Of course the question which immediately rose in my mind, but which it was too early to ask her, was what was the thing in herself which she feared and hated, which his presence brought to the surface. Often we hate in others the thing which we fear in ourselves; or we hate because the other person raises to our consciousness some fault or inadequacy which we would prefer to have remain unconscious, and therefore without power to disturb our self-complacency.

It soon became evident that the boy had no trust nor conscious standards of integrity, because he had never had a relationship in which he had felt these to be the ruling factors. The first task was the analysis of the mother. As she was a nervous invalid she was anxious for help on her own account and was willing to work upon her own difficulties. It was a long process, and there is not space here to give more than a brief outline of the situation.

The parents had been engaged when very young. During the engagement the man had found that his real love belonged to another woman, but the woman to whom he was engaged had refused to give him up. As she first stated it, she "had loved him so much that she was willing to forgive him for being unfaithful and to trust him just the same." Incomprehensible as it seems, she had really convinced herself that this was her real attitude and that she was ruled by worthy motives. That love which demands the sacrifice of another's happiness is not love but intensive selfishness was an idea which she fought bitterly, for it meant the sweeping away of all her defences.

Her invalidism was a power struggle to hold the thing that she had obtained under false pretences. Knowing that she had not her husband's love, she took refuge in hysterical weakness in order to demand his attention. He feared to make any demands for liberty because any worry or disappointment immediately made her illness much worse. She asserted that time had proved her right in holding to the engagement for he was so devoted to her now that all her friends spoke of it. Yet ever there appeared her distrust of him which was inevitable. She could never really forget that she had stolen her position, and that therefore it must always be insecure. The boy looked very like the father and she had concentrated upon him the unconscious animosity which she had always had for the man who had loved another woman better than herself. She had never really forgiven him in spite of her conscious attitude of devotion, nor had she ever outgrown her distrust of him.

The father had sought the ever-present help of the American man who finds the problem of relationship too involved—business. In supplying lavishly every material need of the family, he had tried to compensate for the greater values which he could not give. He was one of the people sacrificed to our collective social conscience which lauds the barren and useless sacrifice instead of helping the individual to work out the highest human values in himself and for others. In his early perplexity the young man had gone to an old clergyman who had told him that true happiness could be found only in sacrificing desire for honor and that he ought to keep his word. He therefore sacrificed, not only himself, but the woman who really loved him, and had spent most of his

life in helping to keep a selfish woman in a state of childish dependence and infantile power.

This is another illustration of the danger of substituting the collective social standard and generalized thinking for an individual attack on our own difficulty. The yielding of the strong to the weak is of value only when that yielding helps to make the weak stronger, not when it increases the weakness, and cripples the one who might be strong. Sacrifice is a law of life and growth, but it must be the sacrifice of the lower to the higher, otherwise death of the spirit is the result. There was, of course, an element of unrecognized cowardice in the man, for it had seemed to him less ruthless to sacrifice the woman who would not make a fuss rather than the one who would. Of the real measure of the pain inflicted he found it easier to remain unconscious. His refuge in business had been clearly a compensation for his failures in other departments of life. He had begun gradually to accept the general estimate of his value, his income tax, and to stifle as selfish and unworthy all finer aspirations. His conscious justification for such a course was that he was acting for the good of the family in supplying lavishly all their material needs. The unconscious but compelling motive was a desire to evade the realities of the situation.

In his conversations with the boy, which were not many nor intimate, he had tried to talk with him about right and high ideals. None of this had ever made any impression; the thing that the boy really got was an admiration of his father's business ability and a desire to get things himself. This was inevitable. Children pay little attention to what we say, they intuit what we are. If the parent's

yardstick is material values, all the preaching of other standards of measurement is wasted breath. The child realizes that it is the material yardstick by which he will in the end be measured; and whether he tries to attain to the parental standards or not depends on whether he wishes to be like the parent or as different as possible. In either case the reaction is to the parental attitude and not to the spoken words of admonition. The boy had quite a clear conception of the lack of any real relationship between the father and mother, and was very cold-blooded in his attitude toward affection, although both the father and the mother had tried "to keep everything but expressions of affection from him."

The boy here lived out in acts of cruelty to other children the unexpressed hostility of his mother, and in his evasiveness and dishonest acts expressed the deceitfulness of the father who had built his life upon unreality. The father was absorbed in his material success, the mother in her own buried animosities; the care for the child's needs was prompted by a conscious attitude of duty. This child was caught in the evil currents at work in the unconscious of the parents and gave them life through his own wrong acts. This was a case where the bond of love was not sufficiently strong and the reactions were quite different from those of the child described in the first case. Yet each child was living out the parental unconscious, the one in overanxiety and emotional instability, the other in antisocial acts.

One must in a case like this be slow to blame, especially in such instances as that of the father. It was a pathetic case of one who, in trying honestly to "save his soul," by the collective standards which were the best he knew,

had lost it. In failing to work out his individual problem he had fastened it upon the unconscious of his child.

Each of us must bear the burden of individual choice, and of the struggle for individual consciousness. The thing that really helped the boy was a gradual change in the attitude of the father and mother, and an attempt on their part to work out a relationship based on reality, though love in the deeper sense was not possible. In becoming conscious of all her buried feelings toward the father, the mother no longer projected these hostilities upon the child. She was able to see him apart from the father and to give him a real affection and interest and to acknowledge her responsibilities.

This strange animosity of a mother for a child is by no means rare. Frequently the solution attempted is to be overzealous in regard to every conscious demand for the child's welfare or oversolicitous in protestations of affection. Under these conditions the psychic life of the child invariably suffers almost, if not quite, as much as when the child is frankly neglected. There is no real solution in such cases but for the father and mother to look within themselves for the cause. Often the child is a reminder of something which we wish forgotten; but there is no real solution in forgetting or repressing. The thing which is, must be faced, understood, and related to life before we can escape from its power.

Children who lack real love and understanding frequently lie and steal. The desire to obtain something which they have not worked out in their unconscious, through acts of cunning and deception. Often adopted children unless handled with greatest understanding will exhibit traits of cruelty and deceit. They feel deprived

of a natural right and go about in underhand ways to compensate for their lack. Children who are victims of the parental unconscious are frequently bad-tempered and unreliable. There is unfortunately no society for the prevention of cruelty to children when that cruelty is inflicted by the unconscious of the adult who holds the power over the young life.

In "Rosmersholm" Ibsen gives a picture of the somber tragedy of a woman caught in the darker forces of the unconscious. She is drawn, step by step, into the attitude of a compelling fate and in this rôle pushes a weaker nature into suicide.

There are tragedies of like nature enacted upon children though we are too blind to see them. A young girl whose inferior mentality and physical weakness stood in the way of her mother's social ambition was pushed slowly but inevitably into insanity by the power of the mother's unconscious. Contrary to the advice of physician and psychologist the mother insisted upon being with the child and tried continually to force her into positions that were too difficult. She seemed invariably to do and say the thing that roused all that was undesirable in the child, until at last the emotional storms, the sense of inferiority, and bewildered resentments destroyed the already unstable nervous balance. When it became necessary to send her from the home the mother "bowed to the will of God" and went on her ambitious way, quite unconscious of the motives that underlay her expressed determination to "do her full duty by the child."

We are all at times at the mercy of unknown forces within ourselves. We must therefore look carefully at the nature of the underlying motive if we feel any dislike

or resentment toward a child. It is possible that this child stands between us and something which we desire or rouses things in our unconscious which we fear to face. Instead of trying to forget the disagreeable feeling we must examine it with the greatest care and remain conscious of its existence when we are dealing with the child. Our whole attitude toward childish traits and individual children must be highly conscious.

The mechanism of projection is repeatedly employed in cases where the parents have resentments toward each other. The things which they repress in their conscious relations are vented upon the children. Often one child who in some physical aspect or mental characteristic resembles the hated parent will receive the full brunt of this projected hatred while the others go scot-free. The parent reacts toward the child as though he actually were the other parent. Since the love situation is repressed, the unconscious assumes control, and the emotions so displayed are of a primitive emotional type. Such a child, to whom normal love is denied, will often become deceitful, cheating and stealing to obtain praise and approval. As a great hunger will drive one to take food, so this craving in the unconscious drives its possessor to get love. Overdeveloped sexuality, or sexual distortions in the form of homosexuality or masturbation, often result. I am not dealing in generalities. Every reaction mentioned here has been found to exist in particular cases.

Often projections of hatred are made when people of different racial inheritance have married without having realized the obstacles which they may have met in their own very real differences of creed or ancestral unconscious, or in the attitudes of society toward their social

adjustment. Sometimes these parental projections may arise from anxiety or fears which have their root in the early life of the parent.

An anxious mother came to consult me about her son. He was failing in school and his reports were growing more and more unsatisfactory. At the time when he had begun to be most bewildered about his work, one of the wholesale intelligence tests had been given at the school. It was evidently given by a rule-of-thumb psychologist who amassed statistics instead of studying individuals, as apparently no account was taken of possible emotional or neurotic reactions. The boy had a rating far below normal. This was written on a report and accompanied by comment as to his marks to the effect "doing as well as he can with his grade of mentality." The card, not enclosed in an envelope, was given him to take home. Of course his failures became more marked. A remark of the mother's was most significant. "When I got that report I knew it was no use. It was true, *he just couldn't succeed.*" Evidently the mother's fear had antedated the report.

The boy was a fine, manly-looking young fellow, yet in the presence of his mother his reactions were those of a much younger child. There was a dependence which showed in his manner with her and in an anxiety when she left; there was also much love in his attitude. Evidently the mother-child bond had not been broken.

In his talk with me he showed lack of initiative, and an acceptance of himself as an inevitable failure. He was very sorry about it and anxious to do everything in his power, but he did not believe that would be very much. He was very suggestible and after a while when his en-

thusiasms woke he was eager to enter a well-known preparatory school. "But do you think they would ever take me?" he asked. After rapport was established I introduced a few intelligence tests to see which way his mind liked to work best, but with no thought of examination. He was slow but did not fail. Association tests showed fear complexes.

From all this my intuitions were that the situation was one rooted in the mother-son relationship and that my real task lay with the mother. We worked back slowly through her fears until we came to the underlying cause. She had an only brother to whom she had been greatly attached. This boy, who had evidently been the mother's favorite, had failed completely in his masculine adaptation. Whenever he found a situation too hard the mother decided that he was ill. He learned to take advantage of every slight cold and indisposition. He never finished school, he was "not strong enough" to try for college, and business soon became too hard. He finally drifted into the position often occupied by a favorite daughter, a comfort to his mother and a help and companion in the home. With this rôle his mother's unconscious desires were satisfied. Consciously she was deeply solicitous about getting him well so he could take a position, yet she invariably pulled him back by her anxieties.

The sister had been closely identified with him. She felt his failure deeply and had tried to take over on herself the burden of living out his life. For a time she attempted a masculine adaptation, but when she married her feelings of responsibility were replaced by anxieties. She feared that if she ever had a son he too would be a failure. When her daughters were born she had not

feared and had been happy in them, but when her newborn son was first shown her she had thought, "He is a boy, he will fail." Deep down in her unconscious she felt the sense of an impending fate. To compensate for this she bent every conscious energy toward making him succeed, but all her efforts were surcharged with anxiety. The boy, who could not know that in her mind he was completely identified with an uncle whom he had never seen, felt her anxiety and accepted it as something for which he must in some way be responsible. He was staggering under the burden of his uncle's ghost, which was sitting as firmly astride him as ever the Old Man of the Sea sat upon the shoulders of Sinbad the Sailor, and who, like the Old Man, was choking out his individual life.

When all this was raised into the mother's conscious she was able to see that not only was the boy a separate entity but that in reality he was an opposite type from her brother. She could see, also, that even in her brother's case the failure was not so much due to lack of potentials as it was to the mother's desire to keep him with her, as her child. This unconscious desire had been instrumental in making her nourish every weakness. The fate, which she had considered inevitable, was only her own tendency to repair this mistake of her mother's.

I have known many cases where children were forced to bear the sins of their ancestors, not because of inheritance but because these ghosts were fastened to them by the processes of projection and identification. Sometimes the anxiety lest a child follow in the father's footsteps will produce an obsessive fear of the act which will result in a compulsion to perform it. We must exercise the greatest care in our use of a child's unconscious ma-

terial, especially the dream material, lest we draw him into problems that are not suited to his understanding, or put him in contact with forces too overpowering for the unconscious. Yet we cannot overestimate the value of this material in giving us a key to neurotic disturbances which might seem to be caused by some obscure physical malady or congenital mental deficiency.

A striking case which I had a long time ago was used by Jung and is published in a volume of his collected papers. With his generous permission I am including it here and am quoting direct from his pages, both the case and conclusions as I gave it to him and his own comments which add so greatly to its value.

The case concerns a little girl about nine years old. She ran a low temperature for three months and was unable to attend school. She had no other special symptoms except loss of appetite and languor. The physician could find no cause for the condition. Both the father and mother were sure that they had the child's full confidence and that she was not worried or unhappy in any way. The mother finally admitted that she and the father were not happy together; but she said they never discussed their difficulties before the child, who was completely unconscious of them. The mother wished for divorce, but could not make up her mind to the changes involved. It remained an open question between the parents. In the meantime they made no effort to adjust any of the difficulties that caused their unhappiness. Each had an unduly proprietorial emotional attachment to the child who, in turn, had a strong father-complex. She often slept in his room in a small bed close to his and came into his bed in the morning. She gave the following dreams.

"I went with father to see grandmother. Grandmother was in a boat, a big one. She wanted me to kiss her and wanted

to put her arms round me, but I was afraid of her. Father said, 'Why, I want to kiss grandmother.' I did not not want him to. I was afraid that something would happen to him. Then the boat went off, and I couldn't find anybody, and I was frightened."

Several times she dreamed of the grandmother. Once she was all mouth, wide open. "I dreamt of a big snake. It came out from under my bed and played with me." She often spoke of the snake dream, and had one or two others which were similar. The grandmother dream she told with reluctance and then confessed that she was afraid whenever father went away that he would not come back. She had guessed the parents' whole situation, and said that she knew her mother did not like her father; but she did not want to talk about it because it "would make them feel badly." Her father went away on business trips and then she was always afraid he would leave them. She also had noticed that her mother was happier then.

The mother came to see that she was not saving the child but only making her ill by leaving the situation unsolved. The parents had either to attack their difficulties with each other and endeavour to work out a real adjustment, or decide to separate. They chose the latter course, and explained the situation to the child. The mother had been sure that a separation would make the child ill, but instead her health improved just as soon as the real situation was brought into the open. She was told that she would not be separated from either parent, but would have two homes, and, though the divided time seems a poor arrangement for any child, her relief at no longer being a prey to her vague fears and intuitions was so great that she returned to normal health and to a real enjoyment of her school and play.

Jung comments as follows:

A case like this is often a great puzzle to the general practitioner. He seeks in vain an organic cause for the trouble and

he does not know that he should look further—for no medical textbook would admit the possibility that trouble between father and mother can be made responsible for a child's low temperature. To the analyst, however, such cases are by no means unknown or strange. The child is so much a part of the psychic atmosphere of the parents that secret and unsolved trouble between them can influence the child's health profoundly. The *"participation mystique,"* that is, the primitive unconscious identity of the child with its parents, causes the child to feel the conflicts of the parents, and to suffer from them as if they were its own troubles. It is hardly ever the open conflict or the manifest difficulty that has the poisonous effect; it is almost always a disharmony repressed and neglected by the parents. The real first cause of such a neurotic disturbance is, without exception, the unconscious. It is the things vaguely felt by the child, the oppressive atmosphere of apprehension and self-consciousness, that slowly pervade the child's mind like a poisonous vapour and destroy the security of the conscious adaptation.

What this child seemed to feel most was her father's unconscious. When a man has no real relationship with his wife, then naturally he seeks another love object. If the man is not conscious of this seeking, or if he represses phantasies of that kind, then the libido on the one side regresses to the memory image of the mother and on the other side it invariably seeks the daughter, if there is one. This is what one would call unconscious incest. You cannot hold a man responsible for that as it is an entirely automatic process; but he should be held responsible for being unconscious. It is morally wrong for him to neglect his love problem. Unfortunately, it is almost a collective ideal to be as negligent and unconscious of love matters as possible. Behind the mask of respectability and decency the power of neglected love poisons the children. Of course you cannot blame the average man, as he receives no guidance in solving the great problem of love from current

ideals and conventions. These, unfortunately, are all in favour of negligence and repression.

The dream of the grandmother shows how the father's unconscious processes are penetrating the child's unconscious. He wishes to kiss his mother, and the child feels forced in the dream to kiss her. The latter, being "all mouth, wide open" suggests swallowing. Obviously the child is in danger of being swallowed by her father's regressive libido. That is why she dreams of a snake; for the snake, since of old, has been the symbol of danger: of being caught in coils, or swallowed, or poisoned. You will understand such dreams better if you note what I have written about serpent-symbolism in my *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

The case also shows how apt children are to see very much more than the parents would suspect. It is of course quite impossible that parents should have no complexes at all: that would be superhuman. But they should deal with them consciously, they should not evade their troubles, to avoid painful discussions, and so repress them. The love-problem is part of mankind's heavy toll of suffering, and nobody should be ashamed that he must pay his tributes. It is a thousand times better in every respect for parents frankly to discuss their problems instead of leaving their complexes to fester in the unconscious.

In such cases, what possible good could come from telling a child about incestuous phantasies and father-fixations? Such a procedure would make the child believe that it was all the fault of her own immoral, non-moral, or at least foolish nature, and would heap a burden of responsibility on her which was in reality her father's. She suffers, not because she has unconscious incestuous tendencies, but because her father has them. She is a victim of the wrong atmosphere in the home, and her trouble disappears as soon as her parents settle theirs.

In another case a child who was having difficulties of adaptation naïvely told the following dream, which

seemed to have made a deep and disturbing impression. "My father and mother were living on opposite sides of a river. It was a very big river but every day I had to row across and cook my father's meals. Then I rowed back and I did not see my father again until the next day." In this dream the child was living out the mother's problem. The father and mother were living virtually separated lives so far as real relationship was concerned but the mother neglected none of the duties of the home, she "rowed over every day and cooked the meals" no matter if the river which separated them "was a big river." The duty side of the situation was attended to but with that the relationship ceased. "I did not see my father again until the next day." This dream, like all other dreams, could not be interpreted except in the light of the conscious of those persons involved. It is only through the coöperation of the parents and their honesty in taking up the problem suggested by the dream that we can obtain any light that will give us much help in solving the child's difficulty. Even with this understanding we can do pitifully little; the help must come through the courage of the parent. We can be of use only in applying our knowledge of the processes of the unconscious to show where the difficulty lies and then leave the responsibility to the person to whom it belongs.

Besides the problem which belongs to the parent and is for his own solution, the actual relationship between the parent and the child must be given consideration. Since the happiness and success and value of our lives depends so much upon our attitude toward relationships and our power to form true and wise ones it is necessary to look well to the pattern on which the first are formed. In our

psychic life, as well as in our intellectual, we cannot safely skip steps. In classroom work we know too well that if a child has had no grounding in the fundamentals of primary arithmetic he cannot do the work of the advanced grades with any certainty. So it is with relationships. If a child has not the experience and development, the sense of security and trust that are the outgrowth of the proper parent-child relation, he will be unable to cope with the greater demands of adult relationship. But he should not remain in these relationships too long any more than he should repeat grades. The relationship of the parent and child should be continuously progressive. Its aim should be the liberation of the child as an individual, so that he may follow his own path whether or not that path is the one that we would have chosen for him. He should be united to us only by the bonds of comradeship and understanding. In the larger sense we can choose nothing for our children. We can try to choose our own path clearly and then use our clearness of vision to help the child upon his own way.

CHAPTER III

EARLY RELATIONSHIPS

From the time of its conception the child is moving toward the attainment of an individual life. As in the womb his body is being prepared for an individual and separate existence, so during the necessary identifications of infancy his psyche is being prepared for separate and individual life. At each tiny step forward he is beset by two great currents which from his birth to his death he must meet whenever he is confronted with a new situation: the surge toward the new, and the pull backward toward the safety of the old.

The first adaptations of a baby seem to us so simple that we do not realize that great forces are at work from the beginning. Progress and regression, rebirth and death are present from the earliest days, and are shown in the little acts of the little child as well as in the larger acts of the larger adult. The problem of life is always how to meet the demands which life makes upon us at any given time. From this point of view our sense of values changes. We no longer see the events of childhood as over small or over great; we see all phases of life as of equal importance.

This attitude of equal reverence toward every stage of growth makes us look beneath the outer expression to the inner unfolding. Since we can see so short a way into that inner life, we become patient in the presence of slow

growth, and fearful of manipulating or dictating. We learn to think of a child as of a tree planted beside the rivers of water, that brings forth its fruit in its season. We wait for that deep relationship which is our only way of discovering the real depths of a child's nature; of another human being we can have only that part which is revealed to us in love. The more we combine love with understanding the more truly do we know our children.

A normal nature must progress. It must develop like a plant toward its own form of maturity. If a bud loses its power of unfolding we recognize that it is blighted and that this is an unnatural condition. If a child fails to progress from an infantile adaptation to one better suited to a later period of growth we must realize that some blighting influence is at work. Nor can the life force of an individual be arrested and remain static. Life must move, either forward or backward; if the set of the libido is not progressive it becomes regressive.

There is a form of regression that is normal, existing in every normal human being. Whenever a new situation is to be met, there is a strong compulsion toward retreat to the old and easier way, as well as an impulsion toward the newly demanded development. This is a wise provision of nature; it gives balance and caution. Its normal use is to provide a temporary repose from which is gathered impetus for a new advance. In this way we retreat to gather strength, to gain the forward push of life. When the compulsion toward retreat becomes the dominant force we have an individual whose life current is turned in the wrong direction. One of the most potent causes of this wrong use of the retreat is fear, which holds the individual in a temporary paralysis and may cause a

split in the personality. While one part desires to grow up, the other desires to remain a child, in the safe shelter of the familiar.

In a child, and even in later periods of development, this attitude often finds expression in infantile regressive acts which earlier in life were normal adaptations. To the infant the most interesting things in the world are himself and what goes into him. The mouth is the first organ of sensation, food the most important object, sucking the most important occupation. Undisturbed by counter sensations of pain, he will placidly suck and sleep and suck again. Touch, sight, and hearing all contribute to this pleasure-pain world of sensation. Objects are felt at first subjectively; the outside world exists as a part of his sensation and for his comfort. Then he discovers his toes and his fingers; his body becomes his natural toy. For the infant auto-erotism is a normal adaptation; it is one of the stages through which each must pass. It is not a mysterious evil to be mentioned only in whispers. It is not even harmful unless dwelt in too long.

A child who has normally passed beyond auto-erotic acts may be thrown back into them by an abnormal urge toward retreat. It may take any of the forms belonging to that earlier stage of development, for instance, finger-sucking, or bed-wetting. Then we must be careful not to attach importance to the symptom rather than to the disease. When we find a child remaining in, or returning to, such infantile acts, we ought to try to investigate his phantasy life, or in some way to find out from what he is retreating, instead of taking coercive measures to stop the act itself. The direction of the force must be changed, or when shut off from one expression it will find its outlet

in some other regressive form. The new outlet may be an increased phantasy thinking, more detrimental though not as apparent from the outside, but leading to unaccountable failures or acts of obstinacy, and to separation from reality.

In his laboratory work with adult patients, Jung became convinced that the fundamental problem of a neurosis was not to be found in the disturbing experiences that lay in the early life of the patient but was rather concerned with the present, and was shown in a failure to meet some duty or task which life now presented. The obstacle which was considered too great might lie in some outer circumstance, or it might arise from some inner necessity. In either case there was need for a new attitude toward life, for a different conception of the self and of human relationships. Failure to make the new adaptation produced conflict, and a desire for retreat, which resulted in a sense of defeat. To overcome this the patient took refuge in a more infantile form of life, or in a neurotic illness which furnished him with an excuse which he could present, not only to others but even to his own unconscious, for his failure to accept life. The real problem in the analysis became: from what present duty is the patient retreating?

It is true that to understand a neurosis it must be traced back to its very beginning. It is not enough to cut off the top of a weed; the roots must be dug up. It is necessary to go back through a painstaking analysis in order to discover innate tendencies, and to find out what, in the early years, drove them down into the unconscious or gave them an abnormal strength. Often a shock, either real or in phantasy, is found to be the starting point of a

neurosis. Nevertheless, the crucial problem continues to be the present attitude.

When we study children, no matter how young, we see that this principle holds good also with them. It is when the task is too hard that there is a tendency to slip back into an easier way, a more babyish adaptation. In order to avoid the feelings of inferiority that this would give, the problem is pushed down into the unconscious, and much of the life energy (the libido) is withdrawn from use in the conscious life and becomes busy with regressive phantasies, or finds expression in infantile acts whose meaning is not understood by the actor himself. Jung found that in the dreams of adult patients there was a tendency to go back to the images of the past, not only to those of the personal past, but also to those inheritances from primitive life, the archetypes and symbols of the myth.

We find a similar process at work in the daydreams of children. They go back to the phantasy form of thinking and repeat certain well-known patterns: the Cinderella phantasy, the neglected and misunderstood little girl who is discovered by her fairy godmother and who has every wish immediately fulfilled and all her virtues accepted; the giant killer who removes with magical ease those "larger ones" who threaten his path, and instantly becomes himself the hero. In a certain type of child there is an outbreak of childish and unreasonable acts, or a return to some outgrown childish habit that gives a sense of babyhood and security. In the unconscious of each of us lies an image of childhood as a protected, carefree time, a period when life makes no difficult demands. This picture may be absolutely untrue in any individual

case, yet it remains in the unconscious of each one of us and may operate regressively.

A child was brought to me for thumb-sucking. The parents had tried punishment, reward, tying up the thumbs, in the attempt to cure the isolated symptom. The child was naturally bright, but she had lived the most of her life in phantasy. She was fond of curling up in an attitude that resembled that of a child in the womb; then she would tuck her thumb into her mouth, and drift off into a world of daydreams. Here all was elaborate self-aggrandizement. She wove fairy stories of lovely princesses to whom all things came as if by magic; she indulged in bombastic lies. The stories were evidently an expression of her unconscious wish to obtain everything without effort, an attempt to cover up a feeling of inferiority that intruded in spite of the dreams. We chose one of her own make-believe figures upon whom we could project the lies and the boastings. This person could, we agreed, do things that were not permissible to people in our real world. In so separating herself from the undesirable, she began to emerge as a distinct personality. We continued the fairy tales, differentiating them from child stories of real life. When we drained off the unreal by attaching it to the phantasy figure, the residue made up a very babyish little girl who was not willing to do her job of growing up like ordinary little girls.

When the phantasy identification was broken, she began to be herself and to take up her own little responsibilities. The new attitude was accepted, and the thumb-sucking stopped automatically. The story-making continued, but in the form of story-writing which required directed thought. In this way the imagination was not

depreciated but given a new value. Such identifications are not limited to childish experience. There are many persons who go through life living on phantasy identifications, or else identifications with money or reputation or family prestige, which save them from facing the reality of their own individual worth.

A four-year-old boy wet his bed every night. He knew that it was a babyish thing to do. He was ashamed of it, and wished to stop it, but the accident continued to occur regularly. He had a strong mother-fixation and a will to power. His mother would get up every night and change his clothes and his bedding, and this was gratifying to his unconscious power demands. Running counter to these infantile desires were others of a more progressive kind, which made him want to grow up and be a man like his father. He and his father talked of things that they would do together. One day his father suggested an excursion for the next day but wondered if the small son was old enough. It was decided that he had better stay at home with his mother. That night he said, "No rubber sheet for me. I am too old for it. I am never going to wet the bed again." The mother had keen intuitions. She expressed no doubt, but removed the sheet. The next morning the bed was dry. The new adaptation had been made through the acceptance of the desire to grow up as the ruling one. The new trend of the libido ruled the child even in his sleep. The next day the boy took the proposed excursion with his father, and entered upon a new relationship.

The infantile act was never repeated. Consciously he had tried to stop this act before, but it was not until the conscious willing and the unconscious desire were both

directed toward the same end that the desired result was accomplished. Had the mother argued or insisted upon leaving the sheet, the child might have been thrown back upon his old attitude through distrust of his powers to meet the new, and, dropping back into his old phantasies, would have continued the act when his unconscious took control during sleep. We must be quick to accept new and more adult attitudes, and to give the child every opportunity to act upon them. There is always an inner distrust to be met and overcome, and if we add to that our own distrust we make the new impossible.

Bed-wetting is always a regressive act, though it may arise from various causes. Sometimes it is an expression of regressive sexuality. A child punished for masturbation, or one who has acquired a strong sense of guilt which has focused his attention on the act instead of helping him to outgrow it, will substitute bed-wetting. He receives from this an unconscious satisfaction, but is relieved of the sense of guilt since the act takes place when he is asleep and therefore not to be considered responsible. In such cases it is necessary to let him talk out his phantasies, and to answer any questions that may arise.

In Freudian analysis great emphasis has been laid upon the infant's interest in excretion as the first act of creation from the self. Personally, in my work with many hundred children, I have found that this interest occupies a negligible place unless it has been linked up with some regressive neurosis, a thwarted sexual curiosity, or an interest stimulated by the attitude of the parent or the nurse. A little child once asked, "Why do people speak of God and the toilet in the same tone of voice?" We can

all recognize that hushed and mysterious tone which mothers who are inculcating a false and overemphasized sense of modesty use in mentioning any simple bodily function. Such an emphasis inevitably carries with it an undue awakening of interest, as does the repeated attention, if the child receives praise for the act. "Good baby"; "Now be a good baby for mother." All such encouragement arouses a feeling of personal accomplishment in connection with what should be a casual act of the toilet. We are slow in realizing that if we take natural processes naturally the child will probably do so.

Reading too much primitive psychology into the child also results in an overemphasis of these interests. In primitive tribes we find scatological rites used as symbolic of creation and the use of the inner powers. Such symbolism is still existent in the collective unconscious, and appears in dreams during adult analysis, especially in persons whose whole sexual interest has been repressed from conscious life, or whose introversions have been unproductive of creative reality. These phantasies from the collective may be reanimated in a child during a period of regression. If they have been connected with guilt or mystery, they assume an undue amount of interest. They must then be talked out and put in their proper place. I have found usually that a simple explanation of the elimination of waste material, with the analogy of all kinds of refuse, which have about them no mystery, but simply are not objects of interest, together with a feeling of complete freedom in talking of the phantasies, disposes of undue interest. In extreme cases the use of modeling materials (creation from primitive elements) helps to make reality use of the phantasy.

All sorts of adult reactions have been traced to this function, usually in a highly fanciful manner. Obstinacy, greed, liberality, creativeness, are all traced back to habits of excretion. I have found that an obstinate child is apt to be obstinate in this act also, and that sometimes where curiosity is dammed up there is a resulting constipation. With one introverted child, the question, "What do you really want most to know?" brought out a flood of repressed curiosity, after which constipation was automatically relieved. This child had as great difficulty in submitting her phantasies to reality thinking as her outer acts to any adult control. Whenever her phantasy thinking and her curiosity became locked, there was a recurrence of constipation. Even in her phantasy life she showed marked power attitudes. It was always, "now you be what I pretend."

As the child's kingdom increases through contact with reality the small monarch is attacked by opposing forces from without as well as by rebellious subjects from within. In his attempts to hold his own in this strange new world that confronts him, he begins to have a feeling of self and of his own power. This sense of power may be used in meeting successfully the small experiences of his life, or it may be used, as in the case just quoted, in phantasy or in rebellion against reality and the parental, or other, authority.

If a child fails to make his adaptation to new situations, he may be seized by wild furies of self-assertion. By these rages he tries to obtain for himself the thing which he cannot get in any other way, and tries also to compensate for his sense of defeat. These seizures often appear to be quite out of proportion to the size of the

objective stimulant. A child who will renounce a really desired object with great docility will be filled with anger and self-assertion over some very trivial incident. Frequently this self-assertion is mixed with wild boastings and imperious demands. At times a child seems to have a histrionic sense of himself as an actor, and lashes himself up to the part. At other times he seems at the mercy of the passion. Rages such as these are not really evoked by the outer stimulus; they are caused by a reaction in the unconscious. A small thing raises the sense of inferiority, and this passion is a form of retreat.

When a child is unwilling to attack his real problem or task, he may compensate for his defeat by infantile power adaptations: childish demands upon the mother, cruelty to a smaller child or animal, or a sickness used to command attention. Some foolish parents reënforce this infantile use of power by the way they allow children to behave toward servants.

One child was brought to me for treatment because of nervousness and sleeplessness. She had been taken out of school where she was failing, and allowed to play with smaller children whom she ruled. Her arrogant manner with her nurse was immediately noticeable. It developed that this woman was required to minister to her whims when she was wakeful. The child kept herself awake in order to enjoy her sense of power by making the woman read to her, rub her, and do little errands in the night. "That's what she's paid for," she remarked with a malicious little air of satisfaction. This false superiority relieved her from any shame at not attacking her real problems at school and in play with other children. If such power manifestations can be directed constructively,

to power over the self and the task, they become as helpful as they were previously destructive. We are likely to confuse force and its use. It is not power that is to be feared, but the childish use of power—will-to-power.

A regressive tendency resulting from failure does not always seek compensation in power. It may result in a withdrawal of forces. We speak of habit ordinarily as connected with behavior or thought; we take too little account of its deep emotional content. The habit of failure may have its start in early failures which were beyond the control of the child; then it may become deep-seated. Circumstances overpowering in their weight, conditions imposed by an unwise authority, demands in themselves reasonable but unsuited to the powers of a particular child, any one of these may be the initial cause of failure. The failure brings with it discouragement and lack of self-confidence. Now when a similar situation is to be met there are two sets of factors to overcome: those that lie in the outer difficulties, and those that lie in the resistance roused in the individual by the previous failure.

Let us consider for a moment those failures that have their origin in apparently inevitable circumstances. A child is ill. He must be guarded from strain and exposure. He cannot compete with his fellows on equal terms. His work is intermittent, and his play restricted. When he can enter into competition with others he finds himself severely handicapped, or he may perhaps be able to compete for a time and then, just at the critical moment when the harvest time has come, he is again ill and must stand aside. An examination for which he has been preparing finds him back in bed; a play for which he has been rehearsing comes off when he has a return of

illness; he enters a swimming contest and his strength gives out just before he reaches the goal, though on another day when he was in good physical condition he outdistanced this day's record. In such an event there are several things which may happen. The child may become embittered and decide that he is the victim of circumstance. The worry and the expectation of illness may make him more liable to collapse at the critical moment. Each failure increases the nervous tension, and each increase of nervous tension increases the probability of failure; it becomes a vicious circle. He decides that just because he is *he,* things are bound to go wrong. I have seen children who at an early age had acquired pessimistic, or even fatalistic, views of life which endangered their future success.

Another type of child retreats into an infantile attitude toward responsibility. He expects things to be made up to him; he wants special indulgences as compensations. He begins to enjoy poor health. Any one familiar with adult analysis knows that type of person who always returns to the handicaps of childhood, not alone as an excuse, but even as a reasonable cause, for failure in middle age. He cannot see that success is not a matter of circumstance, but of power to meet circumstance. He is sure that he could easily have met the problem of the other person; but because of the peculiar nature of his own problem, and the unfortunate early circumstances that attended his life, his failure is not at all his own responsibility.

In dealing with situations where early failures have been caused by illness, we must keep several things in mind. The thought must be directed to general gain and

growth; no emphasis must be placed upon possible failures along the way. Although life does continually present to us contests, it is not primarily concerned with special occasions, but with general growth. A child may be ill for a long period, but he is not even then necessarily delicate for life. I once heard an old country doctor say, "It's not so hard to cure a child as it is to convince the mother that he is really well." On another occasion, when the anxious mother of an only child said, "Doctor, what shall I do for him, he is so delicate?" he replied, "Madam, have eight more. Then you wouldn't have a chance to remember every illness he has had since he was a month old, and he would have a chance to grow up."

Give the child abundant help and sympathy in all real misfortunes. Try to see that he is not placed in circumstances that are too hard for him; then do not continue this help and sympathy too long. Seize every opportunity to emphasize his return to health. Offer as many legitimate opportunities for success as possible. When a child has this feeling that circumstances are against him and that it is of no use to try, the parent has a temptation to do the thing which only reënforces this attitude; to sympathize, and to make his path too easy. Unfortunately the world will not accept parental judgments. It does not ask how good is your excuse, but how real is your value. The child must learn to consider adverse circumstances as something to spur him to greater effort.

A boy had repeated illnesses and physical misfortunes. His difficulties began with an almost fatal illness in early infancy, one which left permanent traces. An operation, unskilfully performed, left him with an infection which caused repeated illness and great pain. He had

heard the doctor blamed, and himself referred to as the victim of circumstance. He had a fine spirit and wonderful courage, yet as though dictated by malicious fate, illnesses continued to come at times when they robbed him of much-desired pleasures, or of the fruits of real effort. His fine courage began to be undermined by a feeling that it was useless to try, that fate was against him.

The great event of his summer was a boys' tennis tournament. A return of his old illness put him to bed for a few days, but before the important date he was pronounced well enough to play again. As he started out to practice he met a friend who told him that the tournament had been put forward a week, the lists had closed the night before, and the first match was in progress. Without a word he came back and started upstairs to his room. As his mother started to offer sympathy he said, "It's just my luck again. Something always happens." Suddenly she saw that this was a crisis, the fine courage was dimmed by a look of defeat. "I am ashamed of you," she said. "Are you going to meet life lying down? Go out and get what you want, even if it is hard."

"You are unjust," he said, and his face was white. "Could I help being ill? What can I do about it?"

"That is your job," she answered. "Find your way." He was silent a moment, and then went out.

Several hours passed. Lunch time came and went, and still no boy. She sat fearful of what she might have done, struggling not to cry; for she knew that whether he failed or succeeded in this especial thing he would have found a new independence, and would never be her little boy again. There was the even more serious danger that if he

failed his sense of defeat might be deepened. In the middle of the afternoon he appeared.

"Can I have some lunch?" he asked. "I have to get down to the club and play my first round."

No explanation was offered nor asked, but the lunch was immediately forthcoming. On the last day of the tournament he came home with a cup. As he put it on the table he said, "I am going to keep that to remember that you aren't beaten till you think you are."

The same danger of the habit of failure holds good in school. It is possible to establish standards which stimulate the powers of every child without overtaxing any. This can be done only through the real standards of the teacher himself. The true competition is the competition of the child with his own self. The record which he ought to beat is that of his own past work. This is possible even in schools where a rigid marking system is still in vogue.

Children have a deep love of justice and fair play. If they are properly directed they will espouse the cause of a child who has not been long at school, or who has been ill, or who finds difficulty with some special subject. I have frequently heard children praise a paper of low grading which showed improvement, and criticize one of much higher quality which fell below former standards. The child with the better paper accepted the criticism as just. The acceptance of this standard does not make the child satisfied with poor work, but rather accelerates his progress, for each gain which is recorded spurs to greater effort. It removes the sense of injustice which comes from seeing some one else praised for the thing that is easily obtained while his own greater effort

passes unnoticed. Then, when he slips below his newly gained record, he accepts criticism as deserved.

The inner attitude of the teacher is the determining factor. If she cares more for the scholastic record of the class as a credit to herself than she cares for the development of the individual child, she may preach tolerance in vain. The children will be ruled by her unspoken desires which they unconsciously intuit.

No child should be allowed to fail continuously either at school or at home. This is one of those apparently simple truths whose acceptance brings us face to face with a most difficult problem, one which may involve us in a long and painstaking investigation of both the child and the environment. It is like saying that no child should be allowed to continue with an insidious form of tuberculosis or blood poisoning. In the case of the physical illness we recognize our responsibility and spare neither time nor expense to effect a cure, but we are only just beginning to recognize that these psychic poisons may be even more malignant. They call for a most careful investigation of the environmental, emotional, and neurotic factors.

Failures, whether intellectual or emotional, are not always due to innate disability. The undercurrents set in motion between the unconscious of the teacher and that of the child account for many inadequacies. A child will find great difficulty in following a person whom he cannot love and respect, even though he may make a conscious effort to do so, for all the forces of the unconscious work against him. These forces rise up to guard the child from the person distrusted. They assume the form of vaguely understood rebellions, of intense dis-

like for certain tasks or subjects that are considered too hard, or of antipathies to persons or qualities. Where there is love and trust there are no such barriers. The conscious and unconscious work together and are enlisted on the side of the parent or the teacher. This clears the way for the acceptance of ideas of right, and for the understanding of principles.

Because of certain unavoidable home conditions a very young boy was sent to boarding school. He was reported insubordinate in manner rather than actually disobedient. In particular he seemed unwilling to accept the word of those in charge. A careful investigation convinced the parents that the head master was not a man to be trusted. In answer to the boy's own question, "Do you like the head master yourself?" the mother replied, "I am sorry to say that I do not, but I may be wrong. Your job is to do your best while you are here, and we will see what can be done."

The boy was sent to another school, and this time the basis of choice was the character of the head master rather than curriculum or location. On one occasion when the mother visited the school, the head master said, "Your boy paid me a fine compliment the other day. I was telling him something that I thought it best for him to do. It was not required, but I advised it. He said, 'All right, sir,' but I felt that he was not convinced in his own mind. When I asked, 'Are you doing this because you agree with me?' he answered, 'No, I don't really agree with you.' I said, 'Why do you do it then? You know that I don't require it.' He looked embarrassed, and finally burst out: 'You see, sir, I've got such a lot of belief in you that I'd rather do the thing you

say, and take my chances on seeing a few years from now why you feel that way.' "

There was never any question of insubordination or disrespect in that school, although the boy's new attitude had not been discussed. When he became conscious of the fundamental sincerity that underlay this relationship, the matter of his own way in the minor questions of daily conduct did not seem to him of vital importance. He knew instinctively that in any matter of principle he could, so long as he was himself sincere and honest, discuss his own point of view; and he was glad to give loyal support to the man who inspired his respect.

The fact that he refused allegiance to the unworthy authority was, instead of being an indication of insubordination, encouraging proof of an indestructible fiber of idealism. Children who give love too easily accept many second-rate ideals. Often the child who seems least docile is the one who, if understandingly treated, will develop the greatest individual values. It is because of my knowledge of many cases like this that I say to parents: "Look over all the curriculums and locations that you wish; but base your final choice upon the character of the head master or head mistress, for it is upon that character that the whole morale of the school is builded."

Young people have an intuitive knowledge which, besides guarding them from unworthy allegiances, keeps them from discussing their personal problems with people who have no understanding. In one school where the head mistress had a conscious desire for truth, and a very real and broad sympathy with mistakes and failures, a girl came to me with sex problems. Earlier in the year,

when she had been in difficulties of a scholastic nature, she had received from the head mistress great kindness and a real desire to help. I asked casually, "Why do you not talk this over with Miss X? She is always sympathetic."

"Oh, yes, she is a dear, and awfully kind, but you see she would not understand a thing about it. She would just think it was awfully queer."

That was exactly what would have happened. When the same problem had come to Miss X she had not solved it, but had tried, by repressing it, to become unconscious of its existence. Whenever we thrust problems away from our conscious, we limit our powers of understanding.

If we could once firmly grasp the fact that the child reacts far more to our inner attitudes and to the undercurrents which are set in motion between his unconscious and our own, we should be relieved of the burden of our insincerities and the task of playing a part. We should not have to pretend to virtues that were not ours, nor to perfections far beyond our reach. We could give to the child our own ideals and hero concepts, quite frankly admitting them to be ideals, not actual achievements. We would then be fellow wayfarers on the pathway of life, both on a voyage of discovery; we in possession of a few more charts of the country because of more experience and consciousness, but they with a longer road before, stretching out, we hope, to a larger land. The child must have a god, a hero. He projects the need upon the parent or the teacher. If the adult is not worthy of his love, the child follows a false god.

Just as we must, in sincerity, admit our own imperfections in our relationship with the child, so we must accept

the imperfect thing from him if it is the expression of his best effort. In every case the value of the production is in proportion to its release of creative power. When there is a sincere attempt at expressing one's best, our first duty is to see the value and accept it. Then we may criticize, as a help toward better expression in the future. A pretty picture made under too constant direction is of no value in comparison with one which is a full expression of a child's creative power. The adult ideas which so greatly improve the quality of the product may easily destroy the child's individual expression. To regard too highly the finished product is to value material, beyond creative, growth.

If we are offered an unlovely thing because of a lack of desire to give, we should then reject it as unworthy, but here the rejection is directed toward the spirit behind the act. To criticize a loving act because it is awkwardly expressed is to turn back upon itself the awakening of love, and to destroy the spirit for the letter. Manners are not inculcated by such untimely criticism. Only a sense of baffled love is awakened. Receive love reverently, no matter how crude its expression, and emphasize form and manner at time less weighted with dynamic force.

Understanding, too, must be allowed to come in its own time. When we tell a thing prematurely we destroy a possible individual creation, and substitute for living process a dead form. There is no comparison between the force of the thing which a child is helped to tell himself and the thing which is told him. This premature telling may rouse a wholly natural resentment, or, if the attitude be acquiescent acceptance, the initiative so vital

to progress is destroyed. The patterns which we substitute may or may not be good; since they are accepted ones we assume that they are better than the ones for which the child is struggling. We are really prompted by egoism. We like the feeling that we have done the thing well or expressed it well ourselves. Some people have this attitude so strongly intrenched in their unconscious that they will find satisfaction in proving their superiority over even a very little child. The child is, by this treatment, only the more firmly intrenched in his infantile adaptation.

Love properly used is a tremendous asset. When the child feels back of the personal love the parents' adherence to the higher guiding principle and the desire to help him to be true to that higher law, all the forces of loyalty and truth are enlisted on the side of obedience. There is, however, great danger in the personal appeal as a basis for obedience or sacrifice. It is a temptation to both teacher and parent to use the child's love as a means of achieving their end. "Do this because you love mother" is a most common appeal. A very exaggerated case that was brought to my notice is an illustration of this tendency.

A child was discovered cheating, and there was reason to believe that it was not the first time. While the instructor was trying to obtain the child's confidence the mother appeared. "Why did you do it?" she asked. The child burst into tears and said reproachfully to the teacher, "Mother said she would be so happy if I had good marks! I did it to please mother." And the mother, instead of being appalled at the havoc she had wrought, said triumphantly as she drew the child to her, "I knew

that she couldn't really have been naughty. You surely won't punish her now that you understand that she did it only because she loves her mother. You won't do it again, darling, will you, now that you know that mother never wants you to do such a thing even for good marks? You will do what mother wants because you love her." In spite of all the teacher's effort the child departed with a misty sense of misunderstood virtue on her side, and of injustice on the part of the teacher. Though this is an extreme case, I regret to say that it is by no means an uncommon one.

In an extraverted child, that is in one who finds his chief relationships in the outer world of things and people, this type of appeal makes the whole motivation of life a personal one. It cripples the power of giving loyal support to an abstract ideal or to an impersonal cause. It is the "my family whether their demands are just or not, my country right or wrong" attitude. The demands of truth are secondary to the demands of the beloved object. Not only may the wider demands of life be disregarded, but great violence may be done to the individual relationship, for the desire to please is greater than the desire to be true to one's self.

With the introverted child, that is to the child whose inner world is the greater reality, the effect is different, but may be no less disastrous. Living in his own inner world, he is more afraid of the outside object. His first reaction is to retreat into himself. In such an appeal he senses the will-to-power that lies back of it, for in this case love means: love me, obey me, be what I desire. The child feels this in his conscious or in his unconscious and, afraid of conflict, he compromises. He may try to

conciliate by giving lip service and outer obedience. He may be acquiescent, polite, and respectful, but it is the politeness of the primitive who gives gifts to the totem animal to appease his wrath. The effect of this outward conformity is to make him guard his inner life the more closely, and to create a tendency to deceit. Sometimes he feels a scorn for the person whom he deceives; as in the case of the boy who told me that when he found that his mother had, on a special occasion, used him to help her out of a difficulty by means of a social lie, he had decided never to believe her again, and had stuck to his decision. This scorn separates the child who is greatly in need of making human relationships from any possibility of doing so. If, instead, the child yields to temptation and does the forbidden thing, he may resort to lying and deceit rather than face the wrath of the adult. The scorn is then turned on himself, and helps to build up feelings of inferiority at his own sin.

A young girl who found great difficulty in making contacts with life, and who was so overburdened with a sense of inferiority that it caused an impediment in her speech, told me that as a child she had worshiped her father. He was "a man of authority" who took pride in ruling his own family through appeals to loyalty. On one occasion the little girl followed her own way rather than his. When questioned her fear was so great that she lied. The lie was believed, and the incident was forgotten by the father; the child could not forget it. It became an appalling sin to her. She dared not confess for fear of losing her father's love, and she felt that she had no right to his love since she had betrayed it. Whenever he said such things as, "I can always trust my little girl be-

cause she loves me," she was thrown into an inner panic. About this time she began to stammer, and this was mimicked and ridiculed by her two brothers. Her father tried to break her of it by making her stand in front of him and slowly repeat the words that she had failed to say quickly. When she could not do this, he made her feel that she was again failing as a loving daughter. When at adolescence she came to me for stammering, her sense of inferiority was so great that it was difficult for her to have any realization of herself as an individual.

The child was extremely sensitive, and in her tendency to retreat within herself had already the germs of a neurosis, but had the father placed the emphasis upon loyalty to principle and given her help in the understanding of the inner laws of right, she would not have become so separated from life. Since she could not face her sense of spiritual wrong, she developed stammering, and when she came to me she was outwardly quite convinced that that was the barrier which prevented a normal adaptation.

Her fear and her sense of inadequacy in relationships were her real problems. Her confidence in my friendliness had to be established; the feeling that she was accepted by some one who knew all the things that she had feared to tell was the first great step in her cure. A new and truer relationship was built up with the father who, fortunately, was willing to take over his share of the responsibility. The stammering was proved, as is usually the case, to be incidental; lack of relationship was the real illness.

In connection with this question of love or will-to-power on the parent's part comes the deep question of

obedience, or free choice and self-government. In our present fear of destroying the individuality of the child we are apt to forget that this individuality is a very embryonic thing. A child is growing *toward* an individuality, as he is growing toward control and understanding. It is through independent choice and decision that strength is gained, but it is a form of strength that must come slowly. As decision makes for strength, so obedience makes for rest and calm.

A child has a right to the restfulness that comes from habits of obedience, provided that it is not an arbitrary assertion of parental authority. The younger the child the more these habits of obedience are needed as a background. They are learned most simply in the early régime of the nursery. They bind the parent as well as the child, for they cannot be a matter of whim or of parental convenience; a rule cannot be enforced to-day and broken to-morrow; its carrying out cannot be at the mercy of teasing or tantrum weeping. Obedience must be kept in its place as the background, not the ultimate end of discipline. The goal is the development of choice which is based on understanding, and we must be ready to seize every legitimate opportunity to allow the child to exercise that sort of choice. Moral questions are the most difficult in the world and we cannot expect a little child to be able to answer them too early.

We must be constantly investigating our own attitudes. We have no more right to a personal will-to-power attitude with our child than in any other human relation. Often the question of obedience is a mere conflict of wills, and the victory is to the one who can hold out the longest. One mother who had a very willful little daughter

said to me, "I don't believe in insisting upon arbitrary obedience. I always argue every question out with her, but she knows that she has to give in in the end, and she always does." The child did give in, but never until there had been an emotional storm, which was not only exhausting, but which she grew actually to enjoy, and which laid the foundation for that type of emotional reaction in which the emotion takes complete control of the person and becomes a kind of orgy.

This desire for emotional excitement may be present in either the child or the parent. It is used to work off pent-up energy which should find its outlet in some positive value. The time to develop the moral attitude of the child is when he is quiet, not in the midst of a storm of anger or obstinacy. The trouble is that at quiet times we are not inclined to bother about him. Any arbitrary display of this form of power on our part awakens the answering demon in the child. It is surprising how many forms this special evil spirit can assume. Bed-wetting which demands the mother's care, night terrors that can be used as an excuse to call the mother, and many other such perplexing habits are power manifestations of the unconscious.

A little girl who had a jealous desire for her mother's love, and resented the measure of it that was given to the little brother, found that she could interest her mother in her dreams. These became night terrors, and every night she woke in terror and had to come to her mother's bed. The mother realized what was happening, and moved up to another floor to sleep. The first two nights were filled with intense suffering for both mother and daughter, but after that the night terrors ceased. One cannot

safely treat night terrors in this way unless a clear understanding of the child's problem indicates this cause.

A form of love quite as devastating as the one manifested in power is that injudicious, self-sacrificing love that would shield a child from every hardship, that would make no demand. Whether this sacrifice is made to the petty whim of the child or to some real or fancied superiority, it is inevitably dangerous. In the former case the child is shielded in his weakness; he is the spoiled child who can never grow up. The constant protection from every hardship opens the way for the retreat neurosis of later years. If the child is of an emotional nature, the parent frequently finds satisfaction in his expressions of love; there is a personal gratification from its display. If the sacrifice is made because of some superiority of attainment, or because of unusual mental ability, there is danger that the child will become arrogant and overbearing in his demands. Since the family life has had to give way to the development of his talent, he begins to feel himself outside the family life. Personal ambition becomes dominant at the expense of interests held in common. All sense of proportion is lost. If people stand in the way such a child expects them to be sacrificed. True feeling values are submerged.

An unusually brilliant boy was made the idol of the family. Every sacrifice was made that he might have the greatest advantages of travel and education. During his university career the father failed in business, but the family went to live in a small boarding house and cut every expense, so that nothing should interfere with his career. He started out brilliantly, but he could not

ride roughshod over the world. He would brook no interference, and when he began to get into difficulties he developed strange paranoiac phantasies of being the favorite son of God, and privileged, in that rôle, to hold the opinions of others in contempt. His dreams were grandiose affairs or power manifestations. All the tendencies toward self-aggrandizement, which should have been tempered and held in check by true feeling values and a proper share in the family responsibilities, had been allowed to run riot, and when the actual break with life came they were too deep-seated to be overcome. We see the same thing occurring in a much less marked degree in the life of almost every "favorite child."

Where the child feels a need of a closer relationship than really exists with the parent he may build up an idea of the father or mother and place this creature of the imagination between himself and the actual parent. This phantasy parent, or parent image, is the imago (defined in the introductory chapter). This imago is often used by the unconscious to compensate for some lack, or it may be built up in order to furnish an excuse for the child's own failure in adaptation. Once given life this imago may gain strength with amazing rapidity, gathering traits of injustice or of extreme love as the child projects his own phantasies upon the image. Since one of the most difficult tasks in life is to see other persons as they really are it is not strange that children often confuse their phantasy figures with reality. For this reason the image of a dead, or absent, parent may have a powerful influence on the life of a child through the strength of his own inner world.

Such an image developed in the case of a little girl

who had a very insecure relationship with her mother and whose father had deserted the family while she was still a baby. She was a child of slow thoughts and deeply buried feelings. As she was always being contrasted with a younger brother who was quite brilliant she developed a great sense of inferiority and a self-pity because she was "unloved." In order to compensate for this she invented a father figure who could stand between her and the necessity for overcoming her difficulties. This father was also frightfully misunderstood by her mother. He was a tender loving parent who had left home because of her mother's unkindness. She was his favorite child and when he came back he would show every one, especially the little brother, how he loved her and how good she was. So real did this figure become to her that whenever she was criticized she made no attempt to change but retreated to this compensating idea of the loving father. This also gave her added reason for indulging in feelings of resentment toward her mother.

In such a case the cure is best brought about through supplanting the image by a positive and valued relationship. The mother's second marriage to a man who was sympathetic and understanding caused a sudden transference of affection and the phantasy dissolved before the power of the reality. This new father demanded real values in efforts but ones which were not beyond her powers. Such a happy solution is not always possible but some real relationship must be found to take the place of the phantasy; sometimes the child can be shown the differences between the image of the person and that person himself.

The imago is not always built from the personal un-

conscious to meet the special desire, or in answer to a special fear or distrust but may also be influenced by images from the collective. Certain ideas, or ideals, are deep-rooted in our inherited psychology. Upon the father are often projected the old ideas of authority that were prevalent in the Jehovah worship and embodied in the patriarchal government when the father had power of life and death over the sons and daughters. This idea has given way ostensibly to the loving father of the New Testament, yet its traces are not obliterated. The mother figure, symbolizing both life and retreat to the protected time of childhood, carries with it such a weight of associated ideas and collective feeling values that the very words bear a significance that may not properly attach to the individual. We must always take into account the importance of these inner images in considering existing relationships.

The use of the imago is not confined to the parent-child relationships. It is especially carried over into the love patterns of later years. The adolescent boy has deep in his unconscious ideals of the virgin mother, symbol of purity and spirituality; and of the temptress, the other side of the accepted woman-symbol. These conceptions become interwoven with the mother imago as the child develops. No choices which have so great a determining power upon the choices of later life can spring full-fledged into being. We see a change in attitude which forces its way into dynamic activity and we think of it as a sudden thing; but it is a piling-up in the unconscious which has been a slow process, and which now breaks through in a tremendous conscious change. It is like the forces of a volcano which work constantly far

below the surface and do not suddenly begin to exist at the time of eruption.

We must realize, therefore, the importance of each step. That *now* is the accepted time is true in the life of the little child and of the adult. Every step is real and important. We live from the beginning; infancy is real life, not preparation for life. It is necessary for the little child to walk without the mother's hand, to dress himself at the proper time, to meet and establish relations with other children, to feel the reality of the love life of the home, not simply as preparation for life but as actual experience in life. This makes life a real and growing thing, unfolding from the beginning. The independence and love of later years have then a deeper reality and a surer foundation.

CHAPTER IV

ADOLESCENCE

Though the growth of the life force is a continuous process, yet there are certain marked stages when this force is quickened to meet the new demands of life. There is no stage in the development of a flower when growth suddenly begins, but there comes a time in the unfolding of the bud when a new thing seems to have sprung into being. The period of adolescence may be likened to this. Tremendous changes, both physical and psychological, are taking place. The independence which should have been developing slowly through the normal contacts of childhood begins to unfold into individuality. Now the old parent-child relation must give way to a new form of comradeship. Here as perhaps in no other period of our life with our children we must face the truth that "he that loseth his life shall find it." To keep our children we must let the old relation go and leave them free to find their own life. It is only so that we can have a living love from them which will develop into true comradeship as they take up adulthood.

As his psychic independence becomes established and his individuality grows, the child begins to look outside the home for contacts with life. Under the urge of awakening forces which he cannot understand he may chafe at even the simplest home direction, scorn home ideals, and do misdirected independent things that fill his

parents with bewildered indignation. They become impatient with these evidences of a growth in independence. If they fail to recognize them as a primal necessity they deplore the vagaries that are only his trial and error method of finding himself. Instead, they ought to realize that their task is not to counteract these forces but to seek for wise ways of setting the child free.

This freedom involves freedom of the parent. No parent who has not established his own individual life interests can be sufficiently separate from the child to face this new relationship; in addition to this he must have attained psychological adulthood, or the child may leave him behind and seek elsewhere for advisers. Psychological adulthood is by no means a universal attainment. It is because of the tremendous importance of this individual way—the finding of the self with which to meet the world—that the rites of adolescence have held so important a place in the religious and the social life of all early civilizations. Values which have persisted through ages must have some intrinsic meaning. It is illuminating to see how, stripped of all the varieties of form, creed, and social custom, the essential thing has retained its importance through long periods of time.

That the problem of the adolescent has always been considered of vital importance is shown by the initiation rites of primitive peoples and of earlier civilizations. These permitted no evasion of the point at issue. The young man was to put away childish things and to enter into the life of the tribe. Through these ceremonies he died as a child and was reborn as a man. He even received a new name. This new name derived its significance from the fact that it was earned either by an

act of prowess or through a spiritual experience occurring during the period of isolation which was part of the rite. The name was therefore peculiarly his and carried with it a sense both of obligation and of privilege. The severity of the test and its inevitability (for it was as inevitable as birth or death) were great aids to the youth in attaining his normal independence. Nor could the father or mother hold him back. He belonged to the larger life of the tribe and that larger life claimed him. Now our civilization interposes many barriers and offers many ways of escape. Home ties are both stronger and weaker, tribal demands are gone, replaced largely by individual ambition, the issue is a more personal one. The youth is much more at the mercy of the ties, both conscious and unconscious, which have been built up between him and his parents.

The other vital issue was the establishment of the heterosexual relation which once followed close upon the attainment of his manhood. This is now postponed by the demands of modern civilization which necessarily erect barriers in the way of its taking a normal place in life, while offering many opportunities for its indulgence as a compromise but not as a vitally accepted issue.

All this adds to the struggle of modern youth. He must take measures to free himself. He must settle for himself the problem of his own sexuality. The very advantages which we heap upon him keep him longer in a state of dependence. This dependence may become an irksome affair. Here again he finds himself bewildered. Consciously he is grateful for the opportunities which may include college, a professional training, long apprentice-

ship; unconsciously he feels the urge to prove himself, to know that he is a man. Scholastic things, in which he may take a genuine interest, fail to satisfy. If he falls below in these he may be told that at his age his father had been helping to support the family for several years, and that it is therefore reasonable to expect him at least to keep up in his classes. Bewildered by the urge for manhood he may go out to prove his independence in foolish ways. These very acts, foolish though they may be, are indications of a healthy desire and are better than a willingness to remain a child.

It is here that the growing boy or girl needs understanding, not criticism. True understanding does not preclude criticism of the special act under discussion provided there is an acceptance of the problem of the actor and real sympathy with him. The youth must be led to a realization of the fact that the problem of the modern world is his problem also, that in order to share in the fruits of this complicated civilization he must also share in its increased responsibilities, one of which is the lengthening of the period of preparation. In primitive times the hunt and the warpath were universal professions for the boy, and the home industries for the girl. Now we have the added problem of choice and of long preparation. We cannot disregard this element; the trouble is that we have often allowed it to usurp the whole field. College entrance examinations, intellectual training, social conventions have crowded out the other issues which are, after all, the essential ones.

Then, too, may arise the confusion between his own way, the way of his generation, and the way of his father's; the family traditions and the life in the outside

world. Whether these varying claims can be reconciled so that the good of each can be accepted, depends largely upon the understanding of the parents and the confidence which they have established with the child.

In questions of psychological adjustment we find that we must now deal with the child's individual psychology as well as that of the parent or adults who surround him. Let us consider these two sides.

From the point of view of the parent the present problem is to set the child free from the parental bonds, even from those that are caused by too great affection. So long as the youth is held in parental identifications, whether through infantile love or resentment, he cannot become an individual. By giving up the outgrown relationship we make possible the growth of a new and deeper comradeship which can properly endure through life. This is an evolving process and cannot be accomplished by any sudden change. From the first we must remember that our children do not belong to us. They belong to themselves and to life. We are only the instruments of life through which they come. The path of life is forward. As we have broken from the ways of the older generation so they must break from our ways and follow new paths. Ways that have been progressive to us may be regressive to them, and the path of regression is always the death of the spirit.

Growth comes through individual experience and the understanding of experience. This must be gained by each one for himself. We do not try to save our children from the labor of education and expect to pass on to them our intellectual attainments, so saving them the process of study; yet we are impatient if they cannot accept the

results of our experiences instead of gaining them for themselves. We are reluctant to see that any deeper understanding of the meaning of life can be obtained only by the individual acceptance of joy and pain and that each must gain this through his own efforts. Our experiences can be of value to our child only in so far as we can use the understanding which we have gained from them to give him wider opportunities and a deeper sympathy when he brings us his problems of living.

It is at the period of adolescence that the normal child becomes most eager for experience. In order to choose, in this world of new experience, he must have some standard of value and some place where the unknown can be weighed and appraised. This is furnished him by the home and by his relation with his parents. Since choice is so largely determined by the strength of the forces that rise up from the unconscious, all the unconscious elements of the relationship are now of greatest importance. These often run counter to the accepted conscious attitude. At this period of awakening sexuality and dawning love life there is a tremendous quickening of the unconscious. Phantasy, idealism, physical sensation, outer experience and inner change, all crowd upon the growing youth. The child becomes conscious of phantasies and sometimes of dreams accompanying the psychological change. Girls are apt to accept phantasy while the boy wishes to live out in masculine assertion the thing that seems to threaten him with sentimentality. Sometimes the urge to assert his own way is so strong that he looks for any way but that of his parents.

What are some of the difficulties which may undermine the desired relationship?

Unless the parent is able, from the beginning, to see the child as a separate entity there is danger that love will become a clutching force using the child to satisfy personal need or ambition. This may happen when the parent is disappointed in other human relations and, pouring out all the pent-up emotion on the child, also feeds himself upon the child's love.

Another devastating form that parental love may take is to place the child under a burden of gratitude and of a sense of duty because of values received. In certain tribes of northwestern America it is the custom of the great man of the tribe to use his wealth in holding a feast at which his riches are given away. This feast is given primarily to the rival and seems to show the simple and beautiful generosity of the primitive in so carrying out the Christian doctrine of "love your enemies." When, however, we look a little more closely we find that, by tribal custom, the rival is shorn of all prestige unless he can return double for all the gifts that he has received. In reality these gifts frequently place upon him an obligation which he cannot meet and render him the bondsman. The underlying motive of the donor is to establish tribal supremacy. In this same way some parents who believe that they are making unselfish sacrifices for their children are, deep down in their unconscious, acting out the power impulses of these tribal chiefs upon the ones whom they believe that they love best.

Many young persons are kept in a state of infantile dependence through being constantly reminded of early obligations. "When you think of all that your mother and I have done for you and of all the sacrifices that we have made for your education it would seem as though

you might feel that you owed us some duty." Such an attitude on the part of the parent fosters in the child either a spirit of unreasoned rebellion or an undue dependence which leads him to sacrifice his own life in order that he may compensate to the parents for all that they have given him.

When conscious duty and self-sacrifice are substituted for the free interchange of love and comradeship deep resentment is often piled up in the unconscious. This resentment may break out in unexplained acts of insubordination and in sudden unreasonable self-assertions, or the self-sacrificing attitude may be manifest in all the parental relations but it may be compensated for by a growing resentment toward the injustice of life itself. In either case there is no way of freeing either a child or an adult except by bringing these resentments up into the conscious and facing them. We cannot drink of a spring that is choked with débris, nor can we make deep personal relations nor find the greater impersonal forces of life if our contacts are choked by resentment which fill the unconscious.

Often patients who complained bitterly of circumstances, but who insisted on stressing their deep love for their parents, have, under the force of the emotional release caused by uncovering some hidden reaction, broken forth into tirades of hatred against these beloved parents—tirades that astonished no one so much as themselves. Bewildering as this experience is it often brings with it a release from buried resentments and a power to face the situation.

If in such cases the parent refuses to face his share of the responsibility then the youth has no choice but to

go his own way and to find his help elsewhere. One is reluctant to help dissolve the relationship of parent and child, but it is better that the child should see the personal failings of the parent and insist upon his own independence and make true relationships, than that he should continue in outer acquiescence and inner rebellion against life.

Two examples may make my point clearer.

A young girl of sixteen began to show signs of nervous irritability. She was falling behind in her school work but refused to change her course or accept any alteration of program which might delay her college entrance. Her mother was greatly distressed. She said that they had always had a very close and happy companionship until within the last few months but that now she seemed to have no happiness in her home and would accept no advice about her school work. She was determined to make college at seventeen.

There had been an older sister who had died a few years before. This older girl was unusually brilliant in her school work. The mother had always loved the younger child best because of her loving nature and had cherished a belief that she also would prove brilliant. She was, however, anxious to do anything which would be for the child's good.

It was difficult to get beyond the polite outer adaptation of the girl herself, but when her confidence was gained she began to talk of the home situation. She loved her father and mother with almost abnormal intensity and felt that she must make up to them for all that they had lost through the sister's death. The sister would have gone to college at seventeen and so she was sure that her

mother would be disappointed if she did not. She felt that they were doing everything for her and she must make them as proud as they would have been had the sister lived.

Underneath she was a mass of unconscious resentments toward them for asking her to live out her sister's life. These resentments she projected upon her teachers who, she said, were unfair to her and did not explain things. She blamed the school for not understanding her, and life in general for not having made her clever. She spoke of the possibility of boarding school but feared the separation for her mother. A change of attitude on the part of both the parents and the child was necessary. The parents were very understanding when once the situation was uncovered.

The main task was for the mother to face the demands which her own unconscious had made upon the child by projecting upon her such a devouring love and looking to her to compensate for the loss of the older child. She had to detach this excess of love from the child and to take up a personal life into which she could put some of the libido which was now devouring the daughter. In her own consciousness she separated her feeling for this child from the love which she had given to the older sister. The child then felt that in taking her own place in the family she was doing all that was desired of her. When this was actually accomplished the girl showed a great release at being able to be herself and go her own way. She repeated the grade with a varied curriculum, one more adapted to her abilities. Her obstinacy vanished, her happiness and charm returned, and incidentally her school work improved remarkably. Her

relationship to her parents was happy and normal.

In the following case where the parent would not change her own attitude the result was very different. A young boy had always been guarded by an overadoring mother. She lavished attentions upon him, she chose his studies and his amusements, she was careful to see that he had only "nice" companions. For a time the boy seemed lamentably ready to be "nice" himself. It looked as though he might be a mother's darling. Fortunately at adolescence more healthy tendencies showed themselves. He began to find friends far outside the selected circle. Then there began to be difficulties at school. Here too he resented authority. His mother wept and suggested boarding school as a dire threat, one which she had no intention of carrying out. Just about this time the boy came under the influence of an extremely manly master who realized the difficulties. Every effort was made to make the mother see what she was doing, but she was sure that she was a loving and unappreciated mother and that the boy would thank her some day. Then the boy adopted the idea of the boarding school as a welcome escape. With the aid of the master he passed some competitive examinations and won a scholarship at a preparatory school. After much persuasion the mother let him try it. He went with the intention of never really coming back home, that is, never coming back to the mother-son relation which home represented, and he succeeded in doing so in essentials. He broke the real relation with his mother, never giving her confidence or asking advice. He spent vacations more and more with his friends. By the break he found himself, but his mother lost him in reality forever.

Love of the parent, no matter how real, cannot be properly used as a motive for determining individual conduct. The growing boy or girl is trying to find standards of right and wrong that shall be his own; demands that he shall decide because of love for parents can do nothing but hamper him. If he has the security which comes from understanding and trust he will voluntarily talk over his problems, but he must be encouraged to make his own decisions. Even in the realm of social relationships the old custom of accepting without question the family circle of friends cannot, and should not be expected to hold. Nevertheless these relationships are too important to be left to chance. This is the time when normal heterosexual attitudes must be established. Parents ought to be far more worried over the absence of friendships with the opposite sex than over their appearance even with some problem attached. It is better that the child should make mistakes than that he should be held back from whatever contacts come to him naturally. Here again the home may become a clearing house. If he feels no prejudice or desire on the part of the parents to dictate his choices he will normally bring his new friends to the home. Against this background he is pretty apt to judge for himself of their real value to him. Such a free acceptance will do far more to reveal to him the undesirable than will anger or opposition.

Earlier in the chapter reference is made to the parent who has not himself passed beyond psychological adolescence. One cannot expect a development of adult reactions from a child who sees a parent given over to the pleasure of the moment, the selfish whim given false emphasis perhaps by some social tag, the pursuit of

emotional excitement under the guise of love. A childish father or mother demanding love and respect as a right implicit in parenthood can expect little from an independent clear-seeing youth. Temper, tears, rights of possession, demands for obedience because of authority—these are infantile, not adult, reactions; and the young person feels rightly that he has passed beyond such childish demands. It is only if we have lived deeply and truly in adult experiences that we can claim the right to advise those who are just entering upon such experiences.

The father who is still a child looking to his wife for motherly care, or who has never thought for himself nor acted from individual conviction, or who treats his children, especially his daughters, as emotional toys, can be of no real help when the child is reaching out for greater psychological maturity.

There is also that eternally adolescent type of mother who not only keeps young for her children but who tries to keep her children young for herself. Since she cannot meet the increasing responsibilities of maturity she tries to prolong her own youth beyond its rightful time. The daughter is still kept the little girl; the son perhaps begins to assume the place of the youthful lover. She demands from him the small gallantries and attentions which he would normally give to a young girl. Since one can never cheat one's self with these substitutions without revenge from the unconscious, she is more and more apt to become dissatisfied, demanding, in truth the "devouring mother." Such conditions usually arise when the parent has failed in her own connections with life and its responsibilities.

If we have passed through certain periods of life without the experiences and the understanding of experience which should be a part of normal development, the unsatisfied element in us is always reaching back to supply the lack. Many people pass through what should be the great experiences of life without any realization of their depth of meaning. This is equivalent to having missed the experience. We are then unwilling to face the fact that we must acknowledge this loss and accept only the things which are now rightfully ours, without trying to filch from the young lives around us.

We see this problem exemplified in the unsatisfied teacher who is using relationships with adolescent pupils to stimulate the sense of youth, as well as in the mother described above. When the unconscious of parent or teacher makes too strong a demand it may dwarf proper forms of relationship and lead to homosexual tendencies or to Narcissism, a form of love that cannot pass beyond the self. Both of these manifestations are types of arrested development of the proper love life. They may be the results of infantile parent life.

As individual life has emerged from patriarchal and tribal conditions, the son and the daughter have had to meet special psychological problems. These have left their imprint upon all succeeding generations.

In order to establish his own way of life the boy must overcome the authority of the father wherever it holds him in the position of a child. If the father is overstern, overinsistent upon the exercises of authority, the son may fear to break from the submissive rôle into which he is thrust, and may accept the inferior position of the grown-up child. In this case he develops into a man who is

afraid to assert himself, who is happier in a post that does not call for independent action, who works best under direction. Often he rebels at this and feels that the world is unjust. He sees other men advanced to positions that should have been his, and is quite unconscious of the forces within himself which make him always shrink back at the decisive moment when the better man steps forward. In his conscious he is demanding responsibility but something in the unconscious is forever pulling him back at the moment of advance. It is also impossible for him to take the part of a man in his relationship with women.

In a boy of different temperament this same overstern father may induce an attitude of rebellion. This boy breaks from control too early, he defies rule, he overthrows authority, he becomes the iconoclast who overthrows idols simply because they are symbols of accepted authority, not necessarily because he has found a better form by which to live. He is in our common parlance "agin the gov'ment," but his rebellion is a childish and unreasoned affair. He is often aggressive in his demands for positions of authority and for his rights. Since his independence is based on revolt and not on development it is an unstable thing and may be overthrown by childish emotional attitudes which surge up unexpectedly from the unconscious.

If, instead of breaking with this overaggressive father, his attitude is one of love and admiration, he may voluntarily accept the position of childish inferiority. In this case he never becomes psychologically adult but continues in adolescent hero worship. He believes his father to be a godlike person to whose every demand he must yield.

Such a man will always be a follower. If the actual father relationship is broken by death or other circumstance he immediately seeks to replace it by finding some one else to assume authority over his life.

If, on the other hand, he identifies with his father pattern and tries to repeat these attitudes in his own life, he may himself become a petty ruler over those who are dependent upon him. Such a boy is often cruel to animals and bullying to younger children, and later on becomes a tyrant in his own home. He finds in the Old Testament Jehovah his highest expression of God. If he has been the indulged favorite son of a father who is otherwise stern and autocratic he may in after-life carry his father-identifications over into paranoiac feelings of self-aggrandizement and consider himself an especially favored child of God. He may even develop a feeling of God-Almightiness which leads him to a disregard of proper human relationships and responsibilities.

In contrast to this a father who is weak and too ready to yield, and who has been unable to take up his own responsibilities, may inspire only contempt in his son. Then the adolescent problem of freeing himself becomes too easy, and his contemptuous attitude is carried over toward all the struggles of life. This is a dangerous postponement of his problem for he meets it later when he has to reckon with the collective authority of society in the adult world.

A weak and acquiescent son having a similar identification with a father of this type may gravitate toward failure, even as his father has done. He is inclined to present his father-identification as an excuse for his own failure to meet life.

The problem of "overcoming the mother," that is, of breaking the infantile ties which bind to the mother is one which must be met by each individual. The forms in which the problem is presented vary with temperamental differences and the types of relationship established with the actual mother. The early ties with the mother are normally those of love and dependence, since it is she who ministers to childish necessities. She becomes therefore the symbol for retreat and negation of life as well as for necessary and strengthening love.

Whenever life becomes too hard or the conscious takes on an overemphasized masculinity in the adaptation to the demands of necessity, there rises up from the unconscious a flood of instinctive desire for infantile satisfaction. This instinctive desire is voiced, not only in the great myths and epics, but even in the sentimental appeal of some popular songs. Such bits of sentimentality as "make me a child again just for to-night" find their audience because they touch something which lies buried in the unconscious of each of us. The deep serene love of a mother for a child establishes a sense of security. Such love furnishes later a place of rest from which one may go out to a stronger acceptance of life. This is quite different from the infantile retreat which is used to avoid life.

The boy who has been bound by too close a tie to the mother remains emotionally a child, although intellectually he may make adult adaptations. If the bond with the real mother persists he feels no need of other women and does not marry. Then perhaps he finds himself, at middle age, emotionally adrift on the world and, through the infantile urges of his unconscious, is at the

mercy of any "good woman" who will mother him. Often the woman may be far from good even according to accepted conventional standards, but this identification of her with his mother image surrounds her with a halo. If he marries and finds that his wife does not, in reality, resemble his mother but possesses an independent personality of her own, he is resentful and either tries to make her over or else repudiates the relationship.

Normal relationship with the mother is a necessity; without it there may result an equally infantile attitude. The youth feels emotionally unsatisfied; he has been deprived of something which is a real need. He too may marry to find a mother, not a comrade, and then may complain bitterly at not being understood and loved enough. Or, beset by feelings of inferiority because of the failure of the early love relation, he may fear to make any contacts with women, believing that it would be impossible for one to love him. Here again we may be confronted with a split in the personality. An intellectual boy or a brilliant, apparently self-sufficient girl are both surprisingly lacking in stable emotional response. As they develop they seem able to manage all sorts of professional or social problems except where their own emotions are involved. This happens because the feelings have not been trained through the experiences of establishing the relationships needed in childhood.

Where the mother is the stronger parent and dominates the household she represents not only love but authority. This makes it more difficult for the son to break away from her and establish his independent manhood. Added to love is now the fear of the power of woman, a fear which has persisted throughout the ages. Man dreads in-

stinctively the sway of emotions which keep him a child. Since in most men feeling is less differentiated than thinking they fear the surges of emotion which may deliver them over to the power of the unconscious. The way in which the boy reacts depends again upon his own type. He may acquiesce, and in the acquiescence lose his own masculine attitude, or he may break the bond, at great expense to his deeper feelings. He then consistently undervalues women, thinking in that way to destroy their power.

In one such case a boy saw his father and older brother both yielding to the rule of the mother. He determined that he would not allow his manhood to be swallowed up. He was about twelve when he came to that decision and he acted upon the first opportunity for direct disobedience. Then to his mother's astonishment, he told her that he was a man and never again would he obey her, and that if she insisted he would leave home. Arguments and threats were of no avail and finally, for the first time in the boy's experience, she resorted to the woman's weapon of tears. This nearly broke his resolution. He went out of the house, and for several hours walked the streets fighting to keep himself to his determination. He won his freedom from the actual mother and by so doing took the decisive step in establishing his manhood. This was far better than continued submission, yet he could not entirely free himself from unfortunate results. This mother image was too deeply stamped upon his unconscious and he was never able to make a satisfactory relationship with a woman. He demanded from her extravagantly feminine attitudes of submission and at the same time felt safer with women who had almost masculine professional suc-

cess. He could not live without women, neither could he feel safe in his relationship with any especial one. Therefore though he was in many ways a successful man the problem of his love life remained unsolved.

A boy who is weak and yielding may, under these same circumstances, live more and more in the feminine side of his unconscious, and later on find his satisfactions in homosexual relations in which he plays the woman. These may be psychological feminine adaptations in deeply rooted friendships, or actual homosexual practices. He may seek a repetition of the mother type and marry a dominant masculine woman, thereby duplicating his father's history of feminine acquiescence.

If a man is ruled by the feminine side of his nature which rises up from the unconscious in floods of non-understood emotion this feminine quality is infantile and undirected. Therefore, in a man who takes over a woman rôle these qualities are manifest in their primitive and unevolved form; they are womanish, not even womanly.

In the same way a woman ruled by the masculine elements of her unconscious is apt to be a prey to will-to-power and possessiveness. In either case the positive values of these traits are lost because they take on a primitive and regressive form.

As with the boy so it is with the girl. The first love relationship is with the mother, for it is she who satisfies early needs, and to whom the child turns for comfort in the first encounters with life. The mother is in many ways the psychic pattern for the girl. If her love relations are happy and well-adjusted her daughter will take over that inner attitude which she expresses in a hundred unconscious ways. If she is filled with suspicion,

with unreasonable or unsatisfied desires the girl finds her own love path beset with doubts and possessive impulses. A young girl's unconscious attitude toward men is very frequently the working out of her mother's matrimonial problem.

Sometimes a mother regards the father as merely the source of supply for the family, and feels no necessity for bearing her share of responsibility. If the daughter identifies with her in a partisan type of affection she will have exaggerated ideas of woman's possessive rights in marriage. If, on the other hand, she repudiates her mother's attitude she may fly to the extreme of independence and may herself take on a masculine adaptation. She may take the father's part against the mother, perhaps mothering him herself, in which case she continues this mother attitude in her adult relationships with men. Or if the mother is suspicious of the father's relations with women the girl frequently takes over this suspicion and has a deep distrust of men.

A true comradeship with the mother furnishes not only the pattern for the daughter's marriage relation but also for her friendships with women; upon it too are built up her understanding and acceptance of a woman's part in life.

As a normal basis for her own love life the girl must have a real and satisfactory relationship with her father. The first element of this is the mother's own influence upon the unconscious of the child especially where there is strong love between them. The father's own attitude furnishes a pattern of what she desires or repudiates in men. If he is too fond, and lavishes upon the child the love that should normally go into his marriage relation,

there is danger that the daughter will find herself unable to break that bond. She then goes through life looking for some one who will be as good to her as her father was, some one who will continue for her this father image. She may find all that she wants in the father and fail to marry, or if she does marry she will expect her husband to treat her as a beloved daughter rather than as a wife or comrade.

A young girl came to me because of a nervous condition which followed the breaking of her engagement. When the time for marriage approached she had been seized with apprehension and had waked in the night sick and trembling. She felt sure that she was not strong enough to marry. In the first interview she used the words: "If only he were more like my father I don't think I would be so afraid."

Here was the key to the situation. She was her father's favorite. Even as a child she had gone to him with all her small troubles. The words which she used in describing their present relation were significant. "He always comes in and kisses me every night just as he did when I was a little girl, and he is always doing lovely little things to surprise me." She was frightened for fear her love for her fiancé might be only sexual attraction since she was conscious of such desires when with him. This, to her mind, precluded the idea that she might fear the marriage relation. Instead she had decided that her unconscious was trying to tell her that her love was mere sexuality and wrong. Her dreams showed this fear to be made up of two elements, the fear of sexuality not because it was wrong but because it symbolized an adult relationship, the responsibility of which she was unwilling to

accept, and, deeper than this, a feeling of guilt that her sexuality should be given to any man but her father. This was deep buried in her unconscious and in uncovering it many childish attitudes toward life were revealed and had to be faced and also many things involved in the family situation. The father had never worked out his own marriage relation and in many ways was a disappointed man. He had looked to his daughter to compensate to him for all that he had missed in his own love life and had remained unconscious of all the undercurrents in his affection by persistently regarding her as a child. So strong were these ties in the unconscious that she felt her marriage to be a betrayal of her father. In accepting her marriage she had to put away childish things as represented by these early attitudes, and accept her life as a woman. Viewed in this way her acceptance of sexuality was not a concession to the lower nature of either herself or her lover but a step forward, a part of her initiation into life and rebirth from infantility into adulthood with its responsibilities.

Another and quite different result which may occur when the father is too devoted to the daughter is that she may have an intuition of the danger of his overinsistent demands, both conscious and unconscious, and repudiate him. In this case she is without the foundation of trust and love which is necessary for her love life. She is frequently suspicious of men and of their demands upon her. She senses sexual motives where none really exist, or if they do exist she refuses to see their normal aspect in adult life.

Indifference and neglect on the part of the father may be as disastrous or even more disastrous. Here again the

results will vary in accordance with the temperament of the child. If she loves the father and builds up an image of a hero which she substitutes for the reality, feelings of inferiority develop. She feels the humiliation of his neglect. The unsatisfied desires for the normal father love which should come to every child make her go about looking for a father surrogate on whom she can expend this devotion and who will give her the fatherly affection that she has missed. She may marry a man who represents to her this father image, perhaps a much older man, one to whom she can be the beloved daughter that she has been in phantasy. This desire is often an unconscious one. Consciously she has accepted a husband and cannot understand, if the man makes adult demands, why fate has permitted her to be so misled as to the true character of the man to whom she is bound. This destroys the possibility of really adult relationships.

A girl of another type may feel only hate and resentment toward such a neglectful father. If she is independent or aggressive she will not submit to an authority for which she has no respect. Lacking the proper discipline which is a part of development, her self-assertion is often that of a rebellious child. When this is so her consciously aggressive self is offset in the unconscious by infantile desires for submission. She too is looking for a father, but as she lacks the security of the proper feeling values she has not a true standard on which to base her choice, she cannot judge of men and is not discriminating as to what a man should really be. Her love relations may therefore be decided by compulsive forces from the unconscious which seek submission and by authority apart from conscious choice. She may therefore become in-

volved in disastrous situations which seem to her the working of blind fate.

More and more we are realizing that this blind fate is born from the womb of the unconscious. Even as a child must be born of the meeting of the male and female elements so fate is born of a meeting of the outer experience and the inner force. It is only when something within ourselves goes to meet the circumstance that our fate can be born. This is the thing which the adolescent must face if he is to find himself. The responsibility cannot be turned back upon the parent unless the youth wishes to remain a child himself.

Our parents were themselves born of human parents and not of the gods. They, too, had to face the handicaps of their environment and of their psychic inheritance. They had to meet the mistakes and prejudices of their own age. The mistakes which are now blamed upon them were not all of their own making. Each generation must face the duty of becoming conscious and of achieving individual existence.

Up to now as we have met difficulties of adjustment the problem has been to help the parent or teacher to greater understanding so that this may be used to help the child, but with the adolescent our method of attack becomes more direct. We must help him to free himself from the thing within which keeps him in bondage. He must become more fully conscious, and must choose his own way.

The attitude of the parent and the type of relationship which he has established with the child is now only one side of the picture. The adolescent takes over his own life and responsibilities whenever he faces the thing within himself which is holding him in infantile bonds. Any

one who has worked with ill-adapted children and chronologically, but not psychologically, adult neurotics, knows how eagerly they seize upon the analytic method as a means of going back into the past in order to find an excuse for present failure. This leads nowhere. There is only one constructive reason that we can have for going back into the past to discover the places where we first went astray and the influences which were then at work. That is that we may gain an understanding which will enable us to separate ourselves from those influences where they are still operative and that we may look squarely at the thing in ourselves which is handicapping us.

The youth must face for himself the age-old problem of initiation into life, of the rebirth into manhood. It is all the more mysterious and bewildering because it is no longer a clearly defined ordeal leading out into a new and universally accepted way. The two fundamental issues are no longer simply defined; the life of the tribe has begun to broaden out into world relationships, the heterosexual life into the complicated relationships of modern society. The wise men of the old tribe expounded a law for each step of the way. The wise men of to-day no longer feel assurance of a predestined path, and the voice of authority speaks in many tongues. What wonder that modern youth is confused! Out of the confusion we must try to choose the things which have persisted because they are essential.

First is the necessity for the youth to face infantile attitudes in himself. Here, as Jung has shown in the *Psychology of the Unconscious,* is the conflict of the hero, as perennial as life itself. The "terrible mother" of

ancient myth is the regressive pull of the unconscious that draws men back to safer, more childish paths. This is the theme running through ancient myth and religion. The dragon must be slain, the hero must descend into the dark caverns of mother earth to destroy the monster, the night journey under the sea must be undertaken. Jonah must live three days in the belly of the whale, the god must face the terrors of the underworld.

The simple meaning of all this is, that the *thing within one's self,* the primitive and childish force of which we prefer to remain unconscious, must be met and acknowledged before we can grow up. The youth must go down into the womb of the unconscious (the terrible mother) and there destroy his own childish adaptations and his parental dependency, and emerge with an independent and adult attitude which is his own achievement.

It is always difficult to make the young person who is smarting under a sense of injustice in the domination of his parents see that the really vital thing in the situation is his own desire to remain an infant, his fear of facing the world and of making his own relationships. He does not readily recognize that difficulties of environment, however great, are of minor importance compared with his own conscious determination in winning his way to manhood.

Quite frequently at this time the real inner conflict will be shown by dreams of amazing clearness. A young boy who complained bitterly of the dominating influence of his mother and of the fact that he was never allowed to have his own way, was in reality a very child in his desires. The "own way" for which he clamored was the infantile way of the spoiled child. Persistently he laid

the blame upon his mother and upon her influence over his father and all the others of the household. He had the following dream.

"I was trying to mount my horse; the animal kicked around and acted very strangely, but I could not see any reason why he should behave so nor why I could not get on. Then I looked down and saw that *I had put on one of my mother's skirts.*"

Here the wording of the dream was very significant. "*I* had put on." He was evidently responsible himself for his own predicament. The horse was his libido which was "behaving queerly" so that he could not mount and go his own way. The reason was that he was still identified with his own mother, a situation plainly shown by his having put on her skirt. His associations showed that he was playing off his mother against his father. While constantly resenting her rule of the home he used her frequently to obtain things from his father. His position, therefore, was that of hiding behind his mother's skirts, though in his conscious attitude he was assuming the rôle of rebellion against all authority, especially hers.

Again in dreams there may be a clear connection with the symbolic figure of the "terrible mother," the regressive infantile attitude that threatens the newly-awakened individuality. Here the symbol takes on gigantic proportions or the form of a mythical dragon or other beast. In one case a girl who was having great difficulty in overcoming her sense of inferiority and in making her own connections with life dreamed: "I was on horseback. We were going hunting. I did not know much about hunting, and I knew that I did not. Then a very large massive woman appeared at my side. She was huge,

like some great giantess. She began telling me the proper way to do everything, to rise in the saddle, to sit for the canter, and every little detail about all of it. All of a sudden I knew that I must get away from her, and the horse and I went on. Then the horse turned around toward me with the most amused expression and began to talk to me. He really was awfully nice and funny. Then he said to me: 'That woman is awful. She saps all your vitality.' "

The horse was to her very definitely a part of herself and the woman who was so gigantic seemed like a figure out of an old myth—not at all her real mother and yet "some way brought the thought of mother." Here again the horse was the libido symbol, her own energy, her own way of adapting to life. The woman was the power of the conventional attitudes toward life which in her conscious she had repudiated, but to which she was really bound by fear and by all the compulsions of her childish dependence. She had blamed her parents for having insisted upon her accepting their ways of thinking and acting, and their religious beliefs and customs, yet now she had to see that deeper than that was her own fear of independence.

She had no standards of her own by which she dared to live; whenever she acted according to her own newly acquired values she was overwhelmed by a sense of guilt for which she could find no conscious reason. She had the same fear of being found out and punished that she used to have when as a child she had disobeyed a parental command. In consequence she had so far only substituted the conventional attitude, the safety of the control of old beliefs for the childish safety of parental

control. She had also, in spite of this fear, a delightful sense of humor which was constantly at war with her overweighted sense of responsibility and guilt. Innocent and altogether rightful acts of pleasure would bring questionings as to her moral responsibility, her duty as a daughter, her possible selfishness. The horse in the dream had exactly her sense of humor, and in an amusing and whimsical way told her to be herself, a rather joyous young person without so much morbid self-searching. In the associations with the hunt was contained much pertinent material which bore upon other phases of her analysis, but which I have not space to give here.

Another very striking dream, one of even deeper and more terrifying significance, was that of a young girl who had with great struggle started upon her own life of independent thought and action. Her mother and father were both intellectual, rather ambitious people, and her two brothers, both older than herself, were of the hustling American business man type. She had been the "little daughter," a sort of sentimental toy for the household, one to be indulged and petted. This position, apparently so satisfactory to all concerned at home, broke down before the onslaught of reality when she tried to take her place in the school world or to assume any real responsibility. She had gone through the earlier years without any brilliant record, yet fairly successfully, but now when the time came for her to make a more adult adaptation she was quite unequal to the demands. Of course her failures were never her own fault, she was "misunderstood," "people expected too much of her." She had a good deal of artistic ability for which she had been praised, but since she had never submitted to any

real training her things were lacking in technique, they were only possibilities.

After she began to face things, there came a time when she began to place the blame upon her parents for not having trained her. She started out upon her new path with some confidence, which threatened to break at the first real difficulty. Then she dreamed the following dream: "I was on a boat in a darling little harbor. There were green meadows all about and the sun was shining on them. We sailed out. The mouth of the harbor was just a little narrow opening. As we started to sail through I saw the ocean with the waves breaking. The wind was blowing and it seemed quite wonderful. All of a sudden I was terrified. There was just the great ocean outside, and the boat was so little. I felt I must get back before we went out. I jumped and landed on the shore; but as I ran back I felt as though the grass were clutching me, and I saw that the land was trying to suck me in. It had all turned to quicksand. I woke shaking with fright. It was a horrible dream."

Here was her problem most vividly portrayed. She had embarked upon the sea of life, but she was afraid to face the perils of the journey and longed to return to the safety of the pleasant meadows of childhood. When she tried to get back she found that the pleasant land was no longer safe. If she turned back the old childish regressive attitudes would "suck her down." It would be spiritual death, the overpowering of her own libido. There were perils in the outward journey, but greater in being swallowed back into the old dependence and infantile life.

The narrow mouth of the harbor is here again the re-

birth symbol which is employed by the unconscious in so many varying forms to signify the mouth of the womb through which the newborn child must pass in order to obtain life. So the new self must be born by passing through the narrow way and out into the larger life, which means coming forth from the safety of the mother. This type of rebirth must take place whenever the old way is outgrown and must be abandoned for a higher path of development.

The unconscious does not always give us pictures which are as vivid and simple as these. Often the dream symbolism seems absurd and grotesque, and utterly without meaning, and we must give long thought to discovering the value of the symbols. This value can be found only in connection with the knowledge which we have of the conscious life and of the problem which is imminent, and without whose solution no step ahead can be taken.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCEPTANCE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

When the essential problems of adolescence have been faced the questions become those of adult analysis and therefore have no real place in this volume, yet the subject of rebirth is one which is so vital in the new psychology that it seems to call for a greater emphasis than can be given in the discussion of adolescence as an initiation into life.

In all the great religions we find this concept strongly emphasized, but we have been accustomed to think of it as a single occurrence. William James speaks of the once-born men and of the twice-born: "the once-born whose world is a sort of rectilinear or one-story affair, whose accounts are kept in one denomination, whose parts have just the values they appear to have, and of which a simple algebraic sum of pluses and minuses will give the total worth." Their world values are static or else move only in accordance with conventionally accepted laws. The twice-born are those whom this simple acceptance of the apparent cannot satisfy. They follow a changing and evolving truth, they look for the things which are unseen. It is true that into such lives may come sudden change of concept which alters the entire orientation, yet in addition to this sudden and unique experience there is a continuous process of renewal of life and release of energy. There is a constant interplay of

the forces of retreat and advance. As soon as life demands a greater degree of consciousness there comes the temptation to retreat, the desire not to accept the new understanding which must of necessity bring with it a greater responsibility.

Even very little children feel this urge. Sometimes they voice this desire to remain unconscious so clearly that certain ones will try to go to bed when they feel that they are asked to do something too hard (an expression of the desire for sleep and forgetting, the pull of death). Death desires are strong even in children, though usually they are masked even to the one who feels their urge. Nevertheless we all have this desire to remain unconscious—unconscious of the suffering and evil in the world about us, of which it is easier to remain ignorant; unconscious of the changing demands of society which would force upon us the consideration of new problems; unconscious of the things which would necessitate new adjustments of personal relationships; and most of all unconscious of the undercurrents of our own psychology, of the inferior thing in ourselves which, raised to consciousness, would necessitate a new valuation of ourselves and a new conception of our responsibility. Unconsciousness of all these things relieves us of the burden of growth; but even as the urge of death is toward unconsciousness the urge of life is toward a fuller consciousness. Whenever we accept this dynamic urge of life there is a rebirth of the spirit.

Viewed in this way man is not merely twice-born but continuously reborn. Whenever life makes a demand that calls for a new attitude there must be the death of the old and the birth of the new. St. Paul, having

caught a vision of the transformation of the self through the dynamic release of a new inner attitude, says, "I die daily." There are special spiritual crises when this rebirth seems to transform the entire personality. There has been a piling up in the unconscious which finds a release in a new spiritual concept. The child of the spirit has been growing in the dark womb of the eternal mother. In this way the hero is born, the man breaks the bond with the regressive element and takes over the responsibility for his life of higher individuation in so far as it is expressed in this new attitude. This is a continuously recurring process. Soon the new self finds new and greater obstacles to overcome and again a rebirth must take place. The hero concept might be likened to a symbolic potential and is a universal attempt of the unconscious to objectify this energy whose release carries the individual forward.

In this continuous life process of rebirth sacrifice assumes a new and greater significance. It is a sacrifice of the lower self to the higher. It is not a repudiation of the self but a fuller acceptance of all its possibilities. This is the theme which runs through all spiritual concept, even the old myths. So Odin hung nine days over the great void, "a sacrifice of myself unto myself" in order that he might obtain the vision of understanding.

The sacrifice that is made in order to deny the self is barren and makes for death instead of life. It is of the nature of repression. The substitution of duty for a living creative love has drained all the meaning from the precept, "bear ye one another's burdens." The law of Christ was a law of joyous giving and receiving in human relationships. Here we see the danger of letting a living

word crystallize into a Mosaic law. Every sacrifice must be newborn of a fresh and creative impulse. Wherever one sacrifices life for another through a desire for self-righteousness or for sterile duty there are piled up conscious virtue and buried resentment which leave one with a sense of loss and futility instead of a revivifying feeling of attainment. Where the sacrifice is consciously accepted because of a realization of new values, deeper relationship, greater consciousness, fuller life, the result is a release of energy. Fullness of life, not denial of life is our goal. "He came to bring life and to bring it more abundantly."

A conscious self-denial for its own sake helps us to identify with an attitude of goodness which is a form of spiritual selfishness, quite different from the growth which comes from a true feeling reaction. Such a giving away of life gives a false sense of personal achievement.

The true self-sacrifice is the one that sacrifices the hidden thing in the self which would work harm to ourselves and to others. It is an effort to become more and more conscious of all the forces in the unconscious, of the unworthy personal motives that work underground, as well as the inherited forces, so that our lives shall become more and more full of understanding and really conscious choice. In this way we too "descend into hell," the depth of the unconscious where lie all those things that would destroy our conscious attitude and which we most fear to face and acknowledge. From such a descent can come a new life if the new understanding is accepted by the individual.

This new life carries on the vital thing which has been born from the old. It often appears in dreams as a

child thus adopting the symbol of the religious concept and giving it form in the rebirth of the individual. Jung, in his dream analysis, calls this child the *puer æternus,* the ever-living child. In dreams this child often takes on characteristics which symbolize the special need of the individual and which give a clue to the new adaptation needed in order to further his integration.

This eternal child is born of the old. There is a present tendency to throw over all that is old and to assume an attitude of unthinking disbelief. With the loss of the old forms of faith many have lost faith in the vitality of spiritual truths. In casting out the husks we have cast out the kernel. We therefore have no living thing to give to our children. Where disbelief is only easy rationalization it does not hold emotionally, and fears and doubts rise from the unconscious. We then fear to set a child free from our outgrown beliefs for fear the devil might exist and catch him. Many mothers who really believe nothing themselves pass on as literal truths Old Testament truths instead of finding their deep symbolism as shown in all the living spiritual myths. We therefore give husks because we have not time to search for the living kernel.

In spiritual education as in all other types our first task is with ourselves. If we have no inner faith we have nothing to give. If we try to play safe and offer as true a thing in which we do not ourselves believe, the child gets, not faith, but insincerity. If, however, we have found our individual expression of truth to be still living in the old form, then in giving that we still give sincerity, provided we are willing to let the child, as he develops, find his own inner values.

The Acceptance of Consciousness

Our greatest task is to have the courage to face the thing that rises within us, whether it take the form of doubt which must be thought out, or the knowledge of the unacceptable thing in ourselves with which we must reckon. In this way only can be found the acceptance of greater consciousness.

CHAPTER VI

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

There is perhaps nothing more dangerous in our dealings with our fellowmen than a too literal interpretation of a time-honored maxim. The golden rule is no exception to this. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you" is not written for the literally minded man who would impress his own psychology upon the world and who would salvage the needy in accordance with his own requirements. His interpretation of this rule into terms of living reality and human relationship is fraught with danger and confusion. The virtuous and conscientious but nonunderstanding man bent upon giving to his neighbor the thing which would be most desirable to himself is often not only met by what seems to him base ingratitude but also is confronted by a confusing situation in which much evil has undoubtedly come out of what seemed to him very apparent good. To find the spirit of the maxim it must read: do unto others as you would have them do unto you, *if you were they*. To realize this as the meaning adds to the burden of conscious fair play and generosity the greater burden of psychological understanding; for how can we follow this rule, so interpreted, without an understanding of what our brother really is and of how he differs from us fundamentally and will continue to differ until the end of time?

When we start upon this pathway of understanding our

problem becomes increasingly difficult. We find the old way of judging a man by his acts will no longer hold. What motive lies behind the act? Even with little children we find these varying motives necessitating highly different judgments. Two children steal. One may greatly desire the object, the other may have no sense of the thing as valuable in itself but only that it may be used to work out some problem upon which his mind is fixed. Two children lie. One may wish to obtain some definite thing desired, the other may be presenting to us a phantasy which has to him a very definite value and a reality greater than one which is merely objective.

As we pursue these motives we no longer feel pleasantly sure of our power "to make the punishment fit the crime." The Mikado is puzzled. What, after all, is the crime? Does it consist in the manifestation which we see or does it lie in something deeper? Are we so sure that after all it is a crime?

As we pursue these motives deeper and deeper toward the source of their being we become aware that there are persons, even little children, who react in accordance with inner laws which differ greatly from our own. First we may become lost in the maze of differences, then slowly we begin to see certain typical similarities emerging. We become conscious of certain typical reactions which may form a basis for classification. We begin to expect certain responses from certain kinds of people. If we are honest in our desire for greater psychological comprehension we cannot dismiss any of these differing types as merely persons whose actions we cannot understand. Our duty is understanding, in so far as this is humanly possible, and then acceptance of the fundamental

differences which, in many instances, will inevitably make the approach to life different from our own. Easy judgment and complacent self-justification vanish before this new demand of the duty of psychological comprehension of the other person. Until we reach this attitude the child is at the mercy of the psychology of the particular adult with whom he comes in contact. His actions are not interpreted in accordance with the laws of his own being but with the so-called reasonable expectations of the adult in whose charge he may find himself.

In his many years of analytical research Jung discovered that however great were the individual differences of his patients they might be classified in one of two groups which he termed the extraverted and the introverted types. This classification was based upon the natural flow of the interest. In the case of the extravert the flow of the interest was toward the outer world, the world of objects. In the introvert there was "the movement of the interest away from the object toward the subject and his own psychological processes."

In the light of this discovery my own attempts at classification became illuminated and in his discussion of the problem of types I found the key to various problems which I had been working out in my studies of children. Though many of the cases quoted in this chapter were worked out before my studies with Dr. Jung, yet they are now reviewed and the conclusions clarified in the light of my work with him. In all instances I have followed the general line of his classification. My own contribution in this chapter consists in the application of his findings in adult practice to the consideration of child problems. The great difficulty in trying to state this problem in

clear terms is that it gives it an unwarranted appearance of simplicity. It is often a matter of long study to determine the type of any individual. The more knowledge one has of the forces which may influence or distort natural reactions the slower he is to make hasty classifications.

The classification introvert and extravert is made upon the basis of the general attitude. One can, however, draw no hard and fast lines, for in every individual both attitudes are to be found. There is a flow of interest toward the outer world, the objective world of persons and things; and also toward the inner world, the world of subjective realities and inner values. Sometimes these interests are so nearly balanced as to make classification extremely difficult. Then, too, children react to environment, especially psychic environment.

As has been shown in the discussion of identification a child may react to a parent or teacher as though he were the person with whom he identifies. The closer the bond between the parent and child the more the child is molded not only by the conscious but also by the unconscious demands of the parent, reacting in many ways as he is expected to react instead of in accordance with his individual type. Such a confusion produces a sense of unreality and makes the integration of the individual a difficult task. There are, however, characteristic reactions by which we may distinguish the child of marked introversion or extraversion.

It is the opening day of school. In the lower grades many or all of the children are newcomers. With what varying attitudes they arrive! Here is a child friendly, eager, intensely interested in the new surroundings. To

him each object, including the teacher and other children, is a source of quickly awakened curiosity. The outer world has no terrors. It is something to be seized upon and investigated. Or the attitude may be one of aggressive capture, still it is one of acceptance; the interest still moves toward the object. These are manifestly extraverted reactions.

Next comes a child who is obviously shrinking back from this new world. We feel at once that he is withdrawn and apart from his surroundings. The outside world is something to be approached with infinite caution. He may be unfriendly, taciturn, suspicious, repelling sympathy. In this case he too frequently meets with little understanding in his struggles to overcome the fear which each new object awakens. On the other hand he may have an air of detached friendliness. He may even smile at you, a winning smile yet withal remote as of one who looks from a castle window at a world which is quite presumably pleasant but which nevertheless must not come too near. You feel instinctively that this child is worth the winning but know that he cannot be too quickly won. Both these latter children are introverted. They live in their own world apart. The object must be kept at a safe distance, or if accepted must be carried off to the inner world and its value determined by subjective reactions.

Here, as at every other step, we must be careful not to pigeonhole a child too readily. The shrinking child may be an extravert but the overindulged mother's darling who is too much of a baby to venture out from behind the mother's petticoats, or he may be a child with a normally extraverted attitude who has been driven back

inside himself by feelings of inferiority roused by older children or overcritical parental control. The child who meets us with apparent ease may be overtrained in social adaptation, which has resulted in an attempt to reverse his normal introverted adaptation. Our understanding of typical reactions gives us a basis on which to proceed with a sympathetic acceptance of reactions which differ from our own, but the knowledge of the intricacies of the problem holds us back from too hasty a classification.

An apparently trivial incident helps to reveal the mechanism which is at work in a typically introverted child. A class of little children were each trying to finish a piece of work so that it might be taken home before the approaching holidays. The teacher was going about helping with a suggestion here or a touch there. One child had worked hard and had come to a difficulty which was apparently causing needless childish woe. With a deft touch the teacher set the thing straight and returned it for finishing. Instead of the gratitude which she expected there was a burst of uncontrollable grief. "It isn't mine any longer," the child sobbed. "I wanted to give mother my work."

The fact that the object as it might now be completed was in itself an acceptable gift could not be grasped by the child. She could not forgive the teacher for having robbed her of what to her was the real offering. To this child the important thing was her own inner values. Through conquering the object she conquered her own sense of inferiority. The object had no reality to her except as it represented her own conquest over material. It was this inner value which she desired to offer to the mother; the something which she had herself achieved.

The introvert fears the object as possessing a superior power. It is only through its conquest that he can destroy his sense of inferiority in its presence.

The child seated at the same table, who had received a similar helping touch with gratitude, was not more loving, nor was she less sincere nor sensitive. She had an entirely different orientation. To her the object was valued. She desired to give her mother an acceptable material gift, not an inner value. Such a child might presumably say, "Isn't it pretty, mother? Miss X did that little place. Isn't it pretty? Won't you like it on your bureau?" Or she may never mention the helping touch, not because she wishes to receive thanks for something which she has not done, but because that part is to her too unimportant to remember. She is intent on the object which is to give pleasure.

It is not possible to know whether we are building up or destroying the inner thing without knowing what it is that the child is really doing and where his true values are placed. We cannot judge by the emotional reaction (the affect) of the degree of control which the child possesses, nor of the real depth of the thought or feeling involved, for the widely varying reactions to the same stimuli are determined by the strength of the inner forces set in motion.

Courage or cowardice also can be judged only by the inner resistance overcome, not by our estimate of the outer circumstance which is to be met. A child to whom the phantasy world is vivid and whose imagination creates realities may fear to go upstairs in the dark but may face a dentist or endure physical injury without a quiver. Another child who finds reality in the tangible and who

is keenly alive to sensation stimuli will venture into a place of very possible danger without a tremor of fear but be almost hysterical over having a splinter extracted. In either case our estimate of the courage of each child must be based upon an understanding of the measure of his difficulty rather than upon our own orientation to life and the thing which it seems to us reasonable to fear.

The same laws hold good in judging the sudden emotional act. The child given to sudden bursts of anger is not always the most ill-tempered or resentful child. He may be prone to sudden waves of emotion rising from the unconscious, or he may be a timid child overcome by gusts of tempestuous terror and his angers an effort at self-assertion. There may be more real hate lying behind the eyes of the quiet brooding introvert, than exists in the extravert who suddenly performs the harmful act.

In the extraverted child we find a quicker response, an easier and more spontaneous adaptation to changing environment. He is ready to enter into group activities, to accept ideas of others, to make many friends, to direct and control an outer situation. He is a good deal in evidence, sometimes even preferring ridicule to neglect. He is apt to side with the majority and to react in accordance with public opinion. He is frequently resourceful and aggressive.

The reactions of the introvert are usually slower. He must take the thing into himself, familiarize himself with it, and submit it to his inner valuations before he can pronounce upon it. This must always be borne in mind when passing judgment upon his mental processes. For instance the time response in the popular use of the in-

telligence tests may be indicative of type rather than ability. In questions of choice the introverted child may know the accepted value as well as does the extraverted one who gives the prompt reply, but doubts as to the values *to him* fill his mind. It becomes more important to him to find out what he really thinks or feels about it than it is to score on the examination. He may therefore pursue a train of inner reactions and fail to complete his work. In all respects the introverted child is apt to develop more slowly and to hold back from current circulation the things which are developing. It is for this reason that he is often considered slow and stupid as a small child in comparison with the extravert who contributes his values as he goes along.

The introverted child is frequently stubborn, not so much from willfulness as from the necessity of his being which demands that he shall accept nothing until its value becomes apparent to him. Stubbornness is not in itself a problem of introversion. It may, in either type, be an assertion of the ego, a will-to-power, but it is a trait which is present in most introverted children.

Since our western civilization is essentially extraverted we are in danger of undervaluing the introverted child. He needs more reassurance in his contacts with life. There are certain essential differences which must be accepted by each before there can be a true understanding. The extravert views the withdrawal of the introvert as infantile retreat and morbid introspection. The introvert sees in the extravert an opportunist, one lost in the material values and the affairs of the moment, with no inner light to guide. We must remain conscious of these essential differences in orientation or else we shall expect

from every man the response which we ourselves would give.

The fundamental attitude is not determined by birth or outer circumstance. It is apparently innate. In the same family we find children who show marked differences in type. We see the same distinctions manifest if we enter a public school in the poorest district or in the most select private school. It lies deeper than position or education. Two children may have the same love or lack of love, the same advantages or disadvantages, yet one springs forward to meet the world either in friendship or in aggression; the other springs forward serenely or fearfully as the case may be. The form of the introversion or extraversion may be modified or the individual stabilized by a balance of reactions but the fundamental tendency remains a matter of temperament. It is most important to keep this in mind in our treatment of children. We cannot and should not expect the same adaptation from these two fundamentally different types, nor can our reactions to them be uninfluenced by our general attitude. It therefore becomes most important that the adult, whether parent or teacher, should not only recognize these types in children with whom he contacts but should also have an understanding of his own type in order that he may overcome personal bias and be able, in a clear-sighted way, to help develop the weak adaptation without doing violence to the natural one.

I have known schools where it was possible to predict the success or failure of a child of pronounced type as he advanced from grade to grade and teacher to teacher. In one class he would be spoken of as a boy with an interesting mind and showing promise of great ability; in

the next as impractical, dreamy, inaccurate. Or the reverse type of boy would be first depreciated as too ready, lacking in imagination and originality, and in the next grade praised as a fine, accurate, responsive, careful pupil. These verdicts were primarily based upon the type attitude of the teacher and upon the form of work which she valued. The same is true of parents. They feel rapport with the child whom they can understand.

A great peril lies in the attempt to reverse the type attitude. This leads us to a consideration of some of the forms of projection which parents and teachers make upon children. This danger is the more insidious because it frequently masquerades under the name of love and unselfishness. Ungratified ambition, personal pride, thwarted love, all these seek an outlet. If they are repressed instead of raised to conscious understanding in the life of the individual they may seek a means of expression by proxy, through some other life which can be controlled. Since the child is unfortunately nearest at hand and most unprotected, compensation is often sought through him. All unconsciously the power devil is at work and the desire to shape and control another life takes possession. The desire for fulfillment is one of the strongest life urges and should find its expression in each life, but where it is frustrated it may seek satisfaction through other lives. Such cases as the following are by no means unusual.

In the first instance the father was an introvert whose introversion had been sacrificed to economic pressure which had grown continually greater as he had been called upon to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of a large family. More and more the quiet hours of what were to

him real living apart from the outer demands, were snatched from him. Unable to face the situation and to control it so as to preserve his individual integrity he took refuge in compensatory ideas of sacrifice and determined to give to his children the thing which he had missed. More and more he looked back upon his years in a quiet little classical university as the only ones of real satisfaction. As soon as his boy was born he began to plan his career. The boy was to have a classical education with plenty of philosophical studies. He was not to be hurried. He was to have plenty of opportunities for quiet thought. Unfortunately for these plans the boy turned out to be a rollicking extravert whose only interest was in popular scientific experiments. Clashes of will began early since the boy would not see what was, in his father's eyes, "his own best good." When it came to a question of college hostilities became open. The boy wished technical school, the father insisted upon a small college where the classics were venerated and the laboratories were by no means modern. The father won and the boy left home in a state of rebellion vowing that he would get something that he wanted if only "to spite the old man." What he got was a fine crop of wild oats, a most unsavory reputation, frequent flunk marks and finally, by means of much tutoring, just enough standing in his studies to make graduation possible. He refused the opening that his father chose for him. Finally, as a last resort, he was permitted to enter the technical school. He completed the four years work in three and graduated with honors. But the worst of the difficulty could not be undone. The hostility against his father, the determination to have his own way, the rebellion against au-

thority, and the ideas of self-aggrandizement that came from his proving to his own satisfaction that his father was wrong and he right, produced an overbearing and aggressive personality which rode roughshod over all who came his way. Also the habits formed in college persisted, a character originally open and lovable became perverted and a life which might have attained to real individual value was largely wasted.

Another case was of a girl of the introverted feeling type. The mother was an extravert of the aggressive type so often to be found in the group of successful American business women who have identified with their profession. Before her marriage she had filled rather an important position. She had conducted her affairs (so multitudinous as to be bewildering) with an energy and an ability which were unquestioned. She had been, both in her own eyes and in the eyes of her particular world, a most useful and worthy person. She always acted in accordance with consciously accepted standards. Since these standards included a tenet that a woman's life is incomplete without children she annexed a quiet little business man whose inherited fortune seemed to promise security. She continued her professional activities until shortly before the birth of her first child when she withdrew from professional life.

Still following a consciously accepted formula she took up her duties as a mother. She cared for the child entirely herself, but fortunately the arrival of a boy and another girl somewhat diverted the stream of her passionate attention. The first child, however, remained the object of her greatest devotion. This child was a shy little thing, deep of feeling and slow of mind. Her

attachment to her mother was passionate. Later analysis showed the existence of a strong secret bond between herself and her father. This was suppressed because a sense of loyalty to her mother made her take over in her unconscious the mother's attitude of ill-concealed contempt. This of course nullified any positive support which she might have found in her relationship with him.

The school which the mother selected for her was one of high scholastic standards. At first all went well but as she grew older the mother's demands continually increased the pressure that was being put upon her. She must make various school organizations, she must have a part in the school plays, she must have many friends among the popular girls. All this time the lessons were growing harder and harder and now called for a degree of reasoning and thought that were beyond her power, especially when she was so strained to make an extraverted adaptation which accorded with her mother's accepted way of life. Then the mother began going over and over lessons with her but this only added to her sense of inferiority and resulted in greater mental confusion. Hopelessly low marks brought from the mother only a challenge to life. "She shall not fail. I will not have it happen."

The special work was attacked with new vigor and an appeal to the sensitive feelings added to reënforce the compulsion. In this way bewilderment of feeling, through an accepted but not understood burden of emotional guilt, was added to the bewilderment of thought. Then came complete failure. The child was heartbroken. The mother said with tears, "I love her more than anything. I have given up everything for her. Why should this

come to me?" In the last sentence the unconscious spoke. It was not "Show me what I have done that brought this on her," but, "Why should this have come to me?" The mask of love dropped from the face of power.

The child's own unconscious came to the rescue and neurotic physical symptoms developed. Illness was something which the mother's pride could accept. She could be brought to see the need of complete change of environment and more out-of-door life. In a simple boarding school where there was more living than mere learning the girl was allowed to make her connections quietly. She has begun to readjust to life but it will be long before her self-confidence can be reëstablished. Unfortunately in a case like this where the mother would not, or could not, see her own fault, it is only a temporary compromise and the chains are only loosened, not unbound. The only way out is to help the child to see clearly and to face the situation courageously. Then she may free herself, but at the great cost of sacrificing the mother relationship.

I have here chosen two extreme, but by no means unique, cases. In many instances of maladjustment the parent is truly striving for the child's welfare and is himself bewildered by differences which he cannot understand. Where love and courage are stronger than unconscious love of power the problem is far simpler than in the cases here given, for the parent is willing to accept the child when he can obtain help in understanding him, and will leave him free to follow his own path. Nowhere is it more true than in these parent-child relations that "perfect love casteth out fear." If a father and mother have this higher form of love they can face not only fundamental

differences in type but even mental deficiencies and still say "I will do the best for my child and help him to be useful and happy in accordance with his own nature no matter what my ambitions for him may have been." I have known many cases in which, in addition to difficulties, real deficiencies had been revealed, yet the unselfish and understanding attitude of the parent safeguarded the integrity of the child and made possible a happy life in spite of serious handicaps.

No farmer could claim to be scientific who would plant without testing the nature of the soil because he feared that he might find it to be less fertile or otherwise different from what he had hoped. He would realize the stupidity of choosing ignorantly at the time of planting and putting the blame of a poor crop on Providence. Yet many parents feel that it would be disloyal to face the real abilities or natures of their children. Understanding is our duty, and the acceptance of the thing that is, then we can help other things to grow.

The classifications extravert and introvert are based upon the general attitude of the individual in his approach to life. Each type has its distinct place and value, provided a balance is maintained. The extravert spending himself freely in relationships and holding himself in continual contact with the world of things and people must learn that we can give only from our wealth, not from our poverty; and realize that without an inner development there may be nothing worth the giving or building, for the outer life may become a mass of disconnected fragments. The introvert, withdrawing constantly into himself, must learn completion through relationships and outer achievement. He must understand that pos-

session without use is also barren and that use in its broader sense involves the connection of the inner and the outer.

With these attitude types defined we still find ourselves confronted by marked differences between persons of the same general type. This makes a further classification necessary. This classification Jung has made upon the basis of the predominating psychological function, defining function as "a certain form of psychic activity that remains theoretically the same under varying circumstances." The basic functions he finds to be thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition. All of these functions are present to some extent in every individual but as one or the other prevails in the natural adaptation, the individual may be classified as belonging to that function type. Each one of these function types may be introverted or extraverted according to his relation to the object. The method of using the special function is determined by his extraversion or introversion but the predominance of any of these functions may exist in either type.

As we approach a greater understanding of the child, and of the function type to which he belongs, we are enabled to perceive more clearly his natural strength and weakness. We do not expect certain things to be easy for him because they are for us. At the same time we realize the necessity for helping him to build up his weaker side. In this age of specialization there is a tendency to accept a single differentiated function in lieu of an individual. Our task becomes greater than establishing either a person who can make happy home relationships or one who can attain scholastic honors. We cannot focus

our attention upon a special achievement. We must use the superior function to best advantage without sacrificing to it the rest of the individuality.

If the function which is left undeveloped in conscious use merely atrophied the results of the wrong treatment of children would not be so appalling, but every function continues its life either in the conscious or the unconscious. Repressed thinking becomes infantile, regressive, crude. Repressed feeling may emerge as compulsive infantile mood or emotion. The whole carefully evolved structure of the conscious life may be overthrown by the sudden emergence of the infantile repressed function.

Of these four functions two, thinking and feeling, are rational. That is, they proceed in accordance with laws of judgment. There are established values by which their conclusions may be weighed. Our popular conception of feeling is of a mixture of mood and emotion. These are products of the unconscious and not to be confused with true feeling.

The other two functions, intuition and sensation, are irrational. That is, their conclusions lie outside the realm of reason. They seem *of themselves* conclusive. They give one a sense of *a priori* knowledge. Rational types are apt to confuse the irrational with the unreasonable. Because of this there exist, between the rational and irrational types, wide breaches of understanding.

Usually it is the thinking type of child who shows to best advantage in the school, for school is primarily the place of intellectual development and thinking is the intellectual form of adaptation to reality. True thinking develops slowly, especially in the case of the introvert.

His value therefore may not be recognized in the earlier grades. Glibness, quickness, and a gift of memory must not be confused with thinking since they are often the masks which hide the lack of true thought. Memory is an attribute of even the untutored primitive mind. The memory of the primitive is often marvelous but the reasoning power practically nil.

Stories are told by explorers which illustrate the remarkable power of the primitive to remember. A man who could not count above six apparently counted a large flock of sheep every night telling whether any were missing. It was found that he remembered each sheep. Children in mission schools often appear to advance rapidly at the beginning because of this power of retention but they soon reach their norm. This is an element which is often to be found in a situation where parents are disappointed in the school's estimate of the child, or the teachers of higher grades find the judgments of earlier ones reversed. Many precocious children reported as repeating nursery rhymes at a remarkably early age, or performing other memory feats, show little real mental ability when confronted by tasks that demand thought.

Power of judgment, reasoning faculty, and deliberation are all marks of the thinking type. We must be careful not to confound hesitation with stupidity since inability to give ready response may come from a high type of inhibition. The child may be forming judgments, assimilating a new idea, or weighing both sides of a question. The child of the extraverted thinking type will the more readily conform to accepted lines of thought. His thinking is more concrete and objective. It frequently seems to have a greater reality value. He accepts the ideas and

logical concepts of others more readily. He is therefore more responsive to ideas presented. The introverted thinking child must withdraw with the idea. He takes the thought down into himself. He is intensive rather than extensive. Sometimes his thinking has a bizarre quality owing to its contacts with the sources of the collective unconscious within himself. His conclusions may sometimes appear to be drawn from material other than that under discussion. It is necessary then to have a nice discrimination as to the real quality of the thought produced before dismissing it as an instance of inattention.

Trivial incidents sometimes clarify such a discussion. When children are off guard we often catch little unwary thoughts that show the reasoning or judging faculty. A small boy of four asked: "Why does the world go round when I rub my eyes?" "It does not," was the answer. "It is in your own eyes." A pause, then: "Libby, you rub *your* eyes and let me see if the world goes round." A small boy of seven on being taken to the natural history museum, stood for a long time before the skeletons of some prehistoric monsters and then said in a dreamy voice: "Just think, thousands of years before there were men there were things like this, and thousands of years after there aren't any men I suppose there will be other things. How God must laugh when we fuss!" This second youngster was having trouble in school because he could not remember number combinations or give quick answers. It was not till he was much further advanced that his powers of thought began to show in his ordinary work, then he easily outdistanced boys who had responded more readily to the memory demands of the earlier grades and who had shown quicker social adaptations.

As the thinking child develops there is a natural tendency on the part of both the parent and the teacher to exploit the talent. It is such a pleasure to find a little mind that responds readily and eagerly that the ambitious teacher cannot but be gratified at such a proof of her good work, and the fond parent cannot but be proud of the success. It therefore comes to pass that all the stress is laid upon strengthening the function that is already strongest. Often in the home undue sacrifices will be made for the brilliant child. At all costs opportunities must be provided for higher education and even the duties of relationship set aside lest they should interfere with a career. What wonder that this child grows selfish and overbearing and in the increasing sense of intellectual superiority loses the sense of human values? But superiority which is based on the repression of the rest of the normal functions has an insecure foundation.

A child overstimulated intellectually may become possessed by irrational moods, emotional outbursts, childish regressions. This is not because he is overstrained as is so often supposed but because the repressed feelings are growing in the unconscious and when they break through have an unnatural and obsessive character.

A little girl who was unusually brilliant was promoted rapidly. All the effort of both teachers and parents was used to give her greater opportunities intellectually. She was not urged ahead nor subjected to undue pressure. Her own desires were for harder and harder work and she was never so happy as when studying. Yet she began to show sadistic tendencies, she became subject to sudden irrational angers and tempestuous moods, she sucked her fingers, and bit her nails. Physically she was in perfect

condition and her mother could not understand why she should be so nervous. It was not nerves but the suppression of all her functions except her thinking. Her own ambition made her turn all her conscious energy into this one channel and the despised functions took their revenge.

In this case all the opportunities provided should have been on the human relationship side and the attention given to bring up the feelings. The thinking would develop sufficiently in ordinary environment. In adult life we frequently see brilliant thinkers who are betrayed by most childish feelings that they do not understand themselves. They find themselves caught in unsuitable entanglements, or suddenly giving way to compulsive emotions quite out of keeping with conscious choice, or even prey to strange primitive urges.

On the other hand we may expect too much spontaneous feeling from the thinking type. We have a naïve idea that any one can feel if he wants to. But to the sensation, intuitive, or thinking types true feeling may be a matter of genuine achievement. It may be as difficult for the thinking child to feel as for the feeling child to think. Seeing the ready interchange of affection between others this thinking child may stand on his small intellectual mountain like a wistful little Moses looking down on a promised land which he thinks he may not enter. His struggle does not lie simply in the difficulty of expressing his feelings but also in actually experiencing them. A woman of the thinking type once said to me, "Feeling is so much harder to get than thinking. You can say to any one 'come and think it out with me,' but if you say 'come and feel it out,' they think you are crazy."

If, therefore, a child shows innate mental ability let us try to see that he does not develop along this line only. Give him plenty of opportunities for feeling relationships. Above all do not judge the quality of his feeling by the form in which it is clothed. If feeling is not a natural adaptation its early manifestations may be crudely expressed. One of the cruelest little incidents which I have ever known of this sort was the result of such misunderstanding.

A small girl of introverted thinking type lived a life quite apart from the other children and was very reserved even with her mother. The mother became anxious when she saw that this was making her different from other children and tried, on the advice of a psychologist, to help the child to free expression of feeling. Unfortunately the mother confused social adaptability with feeling and much of her emphasis was on manners, not feeling. The small girl began to respond to the mother's expressions of affection with real love. She saved some money which was given her for a toy and bought something that she had heard the mother say she wanted. On the way home with her nurse she stopped to play in the park and arrived home disheveled. Her mother had a guest. She burst in, ran straight to the mother, and throwing her gift in her lap cried "take that." The mother saw the mussed clothes, was mortified by the abrupt manner, and sent the child from the room. Later when she went upstairs to talk to the child about the affair and incidentally to thank her for the gift the child would have nothing to do with her. She had again taken refuge in her books and refused to come out. The mother in relating the incident said, "I was only trying

so hard to make her show nice feelings and have pretty manners!"

The appreciation of feeling and the recognition of the feeling type is made more difficult by the very hazy ideas that are prevalent as to what feeling really is. Any reaction which carries with it an overweight of emotion we have been wont to characterize as feeling. True feeling is a rational function governed by laws of relationship values which we have determined in part for ourselves but which have in part been determined for us by our social evolution. Moods and tempestuous emotions which we have frequently accepted as indications of feeling are only the undifferentiated material out of which feeling may be built, but which in their undifferentiated form are unconscious products. Real feeling is a consciously accepted value. We also confuse demonstration, which may be an expression of feeling or which may be only a sensation manifestation, with the function itself. We cannot accept this demonstration in lieu of feeling, though demonstration without feeling need not necessarily imply hypocrisy. It may be true in so far as it goes but remain unconnected with real feeling.

We all know people whose feelings we instinctively trust. We are confident that in an emotional situation they will react in accordance with certain fundamental laws which govern their human contacts. On the other hand others cannot be depended upon. They are at the mercy of the sudden emotion. They may react in hatred or tempestuous love or may fail to react at all. In case of sudden storms they explain their behavior by saying "It was not really I who did it. I was carried outside of myself." They disavow the affect and seek to separate

themselves from it. This is because they have been swept away by forces from the unconscious, and realize that their reactions were not true feelings for which they wish to be held accountable in their more conscious moments. When a person of the feeling type tries to make an adaptation to life through another function while repressing the feelings he is apt to be more at the mercy of the unconscious mood than another type. The feeling type must possess his feelings or be in danger of being possessed by them.

The child who functions through feeling usually shows to best advantage in the home, he contacts quickly in the social relations of the school unless a feeling of inferiority has been roused by emphasis upon difficulty in thinking. A child slow of thought may be sound of feeling. It is this distinction between head ability and heart ability that is one cause of the difference in judgment which so often makes the teacher and the parent at loggerheads with each other.

I recall one little nine-year-old girl who was the despair of her teachers because of her stupidity, and the pride of her mother because of her cleverness, and both were right. The child was quick to perceive the needs of others and could take unusual responsibilities in the home. At one time on the occasion of her mother's illness she managed the household with an ability far beyond her years. She was the adjuster of small difficulties, the one to be depended on for services apparently small in themselves but important in the happiness of the home. Where her thinking was in the service of her sound little feelings she functioned very well, but there was no feeling interest bound up in her attitude toward arithmetic or other sub-

jects on the school curriculum, and the thought processes involved there lay quite in another realm.

A way had to be found to connect feeling and thinking. Her true strength must be accepted but the weak function must be developed. She was given more opportunities to perform small services in the school, she was drawn into group work and dramatic and play activities so that she no longer felt outside the life of the schoolroom. School was no longer a world from which to escape. With the freeing of her libido more of her energy could go into the work of the class. A great deal of attention was given to helping her to think and slowly her powers along this line developed.

A public-school teacher told me of a boy whose lack of attention, boredom, and general stupidity had exhausted the patience of several teachers. At last one decided to go to the mother and "read the riot act." The case in her mind was clear and judgment day had arrived. "I have come," she began, "to talk with you about Mikey." The mother's eye lighted. "I've thought many a time I'd like to do that. It's a wonderful boy he is. Isn't he?" Clearly something had miscarried. The teacher murmured something unintelligible and awaited the cue. "There's no other boy of eleven could do as he does. From morning to night he's busy and when he is not helping me about the house he's doing chores for the neighbors or working for the grocer on the corner and every cent he brings home to me. I'm glad his teacher has a proud feeling for him for he's burdened beyond his years being the man since his father died."

What were the school gradings to her? She had never paid any attention to them. Mikey was her champion.

The teacher who had come to blame remained to praise and not till a most amicable understanding was established were the needs of helping Mikey "to get a better chance" through his school work suggested. Then the coöperation was enthusiastic. Mikey had a right to the best.

Clearly Mikey had to learn to think. School had its value but this value could not be accepted by him except through an understood channel. The approach must be made through the feelings. A connection made between the feeling and the thinking values had to be established so that the forces of the unconscious should no longer be enlisted on the side of resistance. Mikey's worth, both socially and in his own eyes, lay in his character of helper and provider.

A long sympathetic talk as to how this could be better accomplished (also a few references to his fine mother which brought the glow to Mikey's face) gave him a new light on the possible importance of school and a very different attitude toward that cumberer of the soil known as "teacher." Then followed a discussion of the kind of place that Mikey would want later and the advantages that would accrue to the family. Evidently before such a position could be obtained something would have to be sacrificed to the gods of the school. Arithmetic and reading now began to assume a definite value as means to a worth-while end. It was a discouraging fact but Mikey accepted it courageously and attacked the school work with a mind less distracted because he knew that the home problems could be discussed with a sympathetic friend. I cannot add that Mikey became a thinker. He remained slow and plodding but he did get a scheme of values in which thinking had its place. He learned to

use his inferior function and to give it a value in his conscious. In this way feeling was accepted and enlisted in behalf of the inferior function.

When feeling is repressed and thrust back into the unconscious we may have an apparent reversal of type. Love repressed can emerge as unreasonable hate. The feeling becomes unconscious, undifferentiated emotion and the emotion piles up on the wrong side. If this repressed feeling breaks forth the child may do cruel things and be characterized as "an unfeeling little brute," when it is really the normal strength of his feelings that makes it impossible for him to escape into thinking or one of the other functions. The child who sees another child receiving love and praise for an easy intellectual achievement which to him is unattainable, who must struggle for logical thought, who has no intuitions to carry him over the difficult places, whose wealth of feeling is ignored or not desired, develops a sense of inferiority and impotence which may find vent in rage and acts of cruelty. If these surges of emotion are also repressed and a conscious attitude of submission is accepted there are often dreams in which all these repressions find expression.

One such child became very nervous. Nearly every night she cried out in terror. She awoke trembling, often bathed in perspiration. At first she could not be induced to talk of the dream but at last confessed that they were frequently of murders, usually ones that she had committed herself. She would cut up her mother or playmates so that "the blood ran all over."

It was found that this child was continually criticized for intellectual failure and her affectionate advances were met by such replies as "then show that you love me by

doing better." Too gentle to take active revenge, and even unconscious of all the bitterness that she was repressing, the outraged feelings seized upon the dream as the channel through which to find their expression. This could not be accomplished without playing havoc with the sensitive organism of the little patient, who need never have been a patient had she been understood and sympathetically treated.

The problem of feeling leads us back into one of the greatest questions of life: What is our attitude toward human relations and on what do we form our estimate of their value? Are we willing to leave these things to chance, or to "fate" as we are accustomed to call the forces of the unconscious?

One of the most difficult types of child to handle justly is the intuitive. He is a child whose rational processes of thought and feeling lie largely in the unconscious. He appears to reach his conclusions by a process of "hitting the high spots." He frequently seems to grasp the situation by a sort of magic contact and so gives back the desired response, but how he arrived at his conclusions is a mystery even to himself. He just "knows it is so." Sometimes, because he cannot retrace his steps and supply the missing logic, he is accused of willful guessing in an attempt to assume knowledge which is not his, but this is as unfair an estimate of him as to accept his answer as a proof of his powers of logical thought. He has arrived at his conclusions by a process which is quite legitimately his, but the working out of this process lies mostly in the unconscious. His first training in thinking must be to help him make conscious the steps by which he has arrived at his conclusion.

It is the irrational element in this child that is so baffling. His friendships seem often to be mere "crushes" happening for no reason, for the emotional reactions are based on those same intuitional flashes that govern the intellectual processes. Hence, in what seems a sudden revelation, rapport may be established and the whole emotional self goes out to the new relationship. Later a countercurrent in the unconscious may as suddenly break the bond and the intuitive is himself baffled as to the cause of the sudden reversal of feeling. It is gone—that is all he knows. That perceptive sense which enables him to grasp the special element of the person or the situation makes for ready sympathy and understanding and if bulwarked by genuine feeling and thought is an inestimable advantage. When unrelated to more stable qualities it turns into a form of identification with the person or thing so that the intuitive seems to have no real nature of his own but to change with every wind that blows. When motivated by negative feeling and malice there is an impish quality which enables him to put his finger on the sore spot, or to do the thing which will most effectively upset the situation. The power to see behind the scenes now becomes a sort of goblin prying.

The extraverted intuitive shines in the world of action. This is the child who, when a visitor comes, chooses the right moment for some small attention; who disarms criticism by a caress or a word of insight aptly chosen; or who meets you with a disarming bit of humor when you would be most severe. In the schoolroom every dramatic opening is seized. Reading may become a histrionic feat without much attention being paid to the actual words; those which are too difficult are conveniently displaced or

swallowed by a bit of intonation. In English there is a clever turn of thought or a bit of phantasy but construction is dismissed as dry bones. Usually much more work is planned than completed, for the intuitive deals in possibilities. It is in this that he finds both his strength and weakness, for he senses the potential, he feels the thing that is about to be.

If, in order to give stability and balance, this child is so handled as to reënforce the functions which are weaker in him, all this natural intuitive wealth becomes of value. The trouble in dealing with a child of this type is that, like the Irishman's flea, as soon as you catch him he isn't there—he has neatly hopped on to the next situation. This child may be the joy or despair of a parent or teacher. He requires infinite patience and a very judicious use of praise and blame. Praise must be given for directed effort. Whereas his values are to be accepted, the thing too easily achieved must be passed over lightly. There must be a continuous demand for stable values of thought and feeling. Demonstration cannot be accepted instead of obedience and effort, cleverness instead of judgment and reasoning. The child must be made to feel that his little circumlocutions of thought and act are clear as daylight, that you see behind the scenes even better than he does and can meet him at his little game while teaching him a better. Also, since it is the new possibility that always lures, he must be trained to finish the task begun even where it takes painstaking effort, instead of abandoning it for the beckoning ideal beyond.

The intuitive introvert is most at home in the world of inner vision. In action he retreats, finding his reality in inner images. He is keen to sense hidden inner qualities

of a situation. Often he produces imaginative creations of great beauty but usually he is unable to relate these to life. This is one of the children who is apt suddenly to drift off into daydreams. He is accused of inattention, for the outer world of fact fades. A small household task, a spelling lesson, simply is not. One word may have called up an image much more real and compelling than the text on any page could be. When this happens the child literally does not hear what you are saying.

This type may develop into the unprofitable visionary or the genius. The lines from Rupert Brooke must have been written of such a one:

For there's wisdom in women of more than they have known,
And thoughts go blowing through them are wiser than their own.

The task here is to help such a person to connect the vision with life, or to test the truth that comes "of itself" by submitting it to reality. To the rationally minded the mental processes of the intuitive appear to work backward. His conclusions are reached before his premises. This is not because the steps which connect the two have been omitted but because those steps are taken by the unconscious. This gift of the intuitive must not be depreciated. Without intuition there would be no vision of future possibilities. Many scientists catch a sudden glimpse of a possibility in material or theory of life. There is a certainty that in this thing so perceived is the real solution of the problem. Then the theory must be tested and the theorist must rearrive at the result by

proved steps. Sometimes ideas or solutions present themselves with such an appearance of certainty that they appear to come from the outside. The person will wonder if they are really his own or if he has been told of them or has read them.

Where the intuitive falls prey to his intuitions and believes them to be true of necessity, they can work damage. He must, however, have faith in the value of this faculty and believe this *a priori* knowledge to be worth acceptance as working theory. In the things of the spirit the intuitive perceives the symbols of the collective unconscious. These when interpreted into terms of living values are vital spiritual experiences, but their mere occurrence does not mean higher spiritual development.

It is extremely difficult to diagnose a child of this type for he is not to be confused with the child who drifts off into daydreams from a desire to escape reality. To the trained observer there are little signs along the way; the type of material presented if he can be induced to reveal the inner things, little expressions of face and speech. With a child of this type we must again follow our rule of accepting the value of the thing that is, and linking it up with the thing which we desire to produce. If we deny this value we rouse either antagonism to ourselves or feelings of inferiority and confusion in the child.

A little girl was failing in her work because of inattention. Observing the child carefully I saw the sudden light that came in her eyes before the look of abstraction. When we were alone I said to her, "What was the lovely thing that you saw when the others were having arithmetic? It seemed as though it must be very beautiful." She told me of an image roused by a word in a

problem. We talked of the land that lay behind our foreheads and of the wonderful things that were to be found there, *and that was our only subject that first day.* We pointed no morals, we dwelt upon no dangers. The entire visit was given over to accepting the thing which was valuable to the child and in the child.

She came again, and this time without criticism, we spoke of the schoolroom difficulties. With her realities appreciated, she was ready to discuss her difficulties and failures. From this we arrived at a comparison of values. She felt quite convinced that she was asked to give her attention to things quite stupid and valueless. She loved a garden but could see that if every one spent all of life in a garden regular life could not go on. It was not because the garden was not worth while, but because other things were also to be considered. Her dreams were of value but not when they pushed into the place belonging to other things which were also valuable.

To tell this child that these images were silly and something to be ashamed of would have been not only to rouse her antagonism but also to state an untruth. Through accepting the thing which was hers she could be led to reciprocate by accepting things valued by others. She was not asked to give up her reality but to keep it from devouring all else; and, as time went on, to make use of her intuitive wealth.

In dealing with this type we must try to connect the rational function with the irrational, to reënforce the fleeting loveliness. As the intuitive grows older, if his light is not smothered under a pile of objective reality, this imaginative power may produce phantasies colored by imaginative whimsey or expressed in deeply mystical

images of terror or beauty. It is one of the most delicate tasks to lead such a child to an appreciation of the importance of the everyday task with its underlying note of drudgery without closing the doors on the other world where his phantasy takes flight.

Sensation is the first means of contact with the outside world. It is the basic material from which thought and feeling are molded. It is the function by which we perceive concrete reality. Jung defines it as "that psychological function which transmits a physical stimulus to perception." It is not, therefore, a mere physical reaction but a perceptive one. In children as well as in primitives we find sensation and intuition strongly dominant.

The primitive lives in his sensations and intuitions, the latter taking on a magical character as their strength increases, the former furnishing him with a sense of material reality. To the primitive there is the very real world which he sees, hears, and feels and which must be met in solving the problems of food and other daily needs; and there is that other strange, but no less real, world full of unknown forces whose magic working he sees in every accident or lucky happening.

The child moves in a somewhat similar world, but since the sensations and intuitions of the child are constantly brought into contact with the thought and feeling of the adult world which surrounds him, they become more speedily modified. Then, too, he has within himself, through heredity, the potentials of those psychic changes which have taken place in the development of the race and which are as much his heritage as the physical changes. He has influences both from without and from within which at an early period bring his sen-

sations and intuitions under the influence of reason and of feeling judgment. These latter functions, however, develop more slowly.

We find many persons who continue to approach life mainly through these sensations of concrete reality. Such persons belong to the sensation type. These sensations may be developed to a fine point of discrimination as in the artist or musician or the discriminating lover of beauty, or they may remain in a more undifferentiated form. The sensation type may have other functions highly developed but his approach to life is primarily through sensation. When typically extraverted these are often persons to whom life is not so much a picture canvas to be understood and its meaning and details evaluated, as a cinema whose object is to crowd as many impressions as possible into a single film. Through this attitude they grow to live in the variety and vividness of the sensation rather than in the depth and meaning of the experience.

To a child so oriented the busy atmosphere of one of our large cities seems the very breath of life, but it is really the most insidious poison. I remember once watching a class of small children putting on their things to go home. One eight-year-old ran to another asking her if she could come to lunch and to play in the park. A consultation with the mother showed no free day for nearly two weeks. Movies, dancing-class, music, a children's party, filled the time.

The poor child with only the street for a playground has no more leisure, for here sensations crowd. Even the popular and very useful play-class has the danger of swallowing all the child's time in group activity so

that the needed leisure and quiet is crowded out. During adolescence this whirl of sensation-activity frequently increases at the very time when it is most important that there should be less strain and more time to adjust to the new demands of life. This is the time when we should give our children more understanding and less chaotic sensation stimuli. This overestimation during adolescence is especially dangerous for the sensation type as it pushes him over into the extreme of the function which needs most control and guidance.

In the introverted child sensation adaptation is not so easily detected because the strength of the reaction is to an inner perception. The object is still the necessary stimulus but the perception is so modified by the inner attitude that frequently it seems to have lost all connection with the actual object perceived. To such a type the object becomes an image of beauty or terror or of symbolic suggestion. A child of this type touched a green silk curtain; as she did so a look of joy came into her face and she said, "How lovely the sea is!" Another child of this introverted sensation type told me that when she touched feathers she saw lovely ladies bending over her. A contact with harsh surfaces produced terror. Certain tones made her perceive flowers and others, especially strident bass notes, called into being ugly little black men.

A woman who all her life had found her world bewilderingly unlike the world in which other people appeared to live, told me that one of the most vividly remembered experiences of her childhood was encountering the images of terror evoked by the whistle of a particular steamboat. It is hard for most people of a different type

to imagine a world in which hearing a compelling tone becomes a never-to-be-forgotten experience. As a child she loved a special walk which led from her home to the harbor but she would go shuddering for fear that this special boat, which went back and forth to a near-by town, might approach and whistle. She tried to walk at times when this boat would not be coming into the harbor. If she miscalculated and was caught by the sound she was encompassed about by such forces of terror that she would run blindly for the shelter of home. She feared to see any one angry, not because she felt afraid of what they might do but because of the sense impression that came from the ugly expression which anger impressed on the face and which roused these inner images. These children need the reassurance of relationship. As a keenly sensitive dog shrinks close to his master when first confronted by the noise and confusion of a city street, so these children shrink back to the protection of a love that remains secure in these changing images of the outer world. If such a child feels alone or inferior he is terribly delivered over to the power of the object.

We see how far these images may lie from the world of tangible reality in the case of a child who was seized with sudden terror at the sight of some flowers on my table which were nodding in the breeze. "I see a queer little man waving himself at me. I don't like him." Or a woman who said. "I have that vase there for when I look at it I see the Holy Grail, though I know it is not in the least like the form in which the vessel is depicted." Though in certain cases this adaptation seems akin to synæsthesia (a condition in which a stimulus to one sense gives rise to a subjective sensation different from the one

expected and referable to some other sense, for instance a sound producing a sense of color, or a color producing a definite taste) this introverted sensation-adaptation differs in that it deals with the subjective image and is closely linked with phantasy.

The world is a bewildering place to such a child. More or less distinctly he begins to perceive that the things which are so compelling to him have little or no power over others. This makes him feel separate, different, and frequently inferior. We must try to understand what is happening inside a child so oriented to the object. If we realize that this irrational effect is not a personal idiosyncrasy caused by some whim or queerness, but is a reaction which is in accordance with certain laws of the child's own being—in fact, a type reaction—we shall have sympathy even though these manifestations may be so far from our orientation that we cannot understand sufficiently to put ourselves in his place. To such a child some form of sensation expression is a necessity. It draws away from the magic power of the object. To be able to produce in music the sounds which seem so wizard-like in their power to evoke images, to paint or model the thing which causes these strange inner reactions, places the object outside the self where it can be handled as a reality divested of its mysterious compulsion. Such products retain subjective elements which enhance their beauty, and which through their expression in the material are raised to consciousness and so add to the individual's understanding of himself. In such a sculptor as Maestrovich these inner images break through the conventional form and give a suggestion of the soul, struggling to find expression in the medium of stone.

Little children of this type produce pictures, which, no matter how crude, serve the same purpose.

When we have done our best to make a clear and simple statement of the intricate problem of types we are confronted by the fact that in some ways we have only complicated the whole matter; for we have given an appearance of simplicity to a thing which never can be simple. People are not clearly defined function types with predetermined reactions. They are highly complicated organisms with all the functions operative either in the conscious or the unconscious. It takes great skill to determine with any degree of accuracy which are unconscious manifestations and which are evidences of conscious adaptation. Frequently an identification with a parent will make a child take over a type attitude which is not his own. This borrowed attitude may be so thoroughly intrenched as completely to deceive the ordinary observer and to make it a difficult problem for even the trained psychologist to discover the real self. This chapter is not offered as a basis for diagnosis. The problem is too complicated to be solved in any such easy fashion. Its aim is to broaden the sympathy and understanding of those who work with children, so that they shall have a greater respect for the child's own way of life and less temerity in the demands of adaptation that they make upon him.

CHAPTER VII

IMAGINARY COMPANIONS

Mrs. Comphret lived on the cellar stairs. She was short and plump and comfortable, and she was always smiling. She wore a little black bonnet tied in a neat bow under her chin. It had a jet ornament that stood up in front and tinkled as she walked or nodded. Somtimes she sat out on the cellar door in the sun and smiled. When the days were warm the cellar doors were opened and my sister and I played on the cellar stairs with Mrs. Comphret. She did not talk much but was just comfortable and smiling and slow and quiet. We liked to feel her there. I never went to school or any where without stopping to talk to Mrs. Comphret, or if we were in a great hurry at least we whispered good-by.

Aida Paida was quite different. She was grown up too—that very uncertain grown up age which means any stage of antiquity to children—probably about thirty. Aida Paida did not stay at home as Mrs. Comphret did, but went with us on all our walks. On the other side of the road, quite far from the house, was a big bass-wood tree. The branches came down nearly to the ground so as to make a big green room, and the twisted roots made furniture. We could not go over to the bass-wood tree without permission, but sometimes on bright afternoons we were allowed to have parties there. Aida Paida always came with us. She sat on a big gnarled root and we served her with mud pies. Going to the bass-wood tree was an adventure, but we always felt quite safe with Aida Paida. She went to walk with us too. There was always a little circle of security about Aida Paida and we moved in it with her.

Things that might have got us never could. Aida Paida never did anything to them, but they never could get at us. She made them keep their distance.

One day a neighbor died. There was a funeral, a "finneral" we children called it. We were very much impressed with the solemnity and hush. It was not very real to us except as an impressive bit of drama, but in that way it seemed very mysterious and important. Then one day Mrs. Comphret died and had a "finneral." It was strange to have her go but she never came back. I knew she never would.

Aida Paida stayed a little longer and then just faded away. I cannot remember how she went but I am sure that she did not die. She just receded and at last vanished completely.

Whimsical, quaintly charming as this phantasy is, like a bubble blown into the many colored world of child play, we find that it has a deeper meaning. When we come to study its reason for being, its relation to the actual life of this particular child, we find that it was called into existence because of a psychological need.

This child felt the lack of certain things in her relationship with her mother. The mother was, like Mrs. Comphret, a small woman, but there was no plump restfulness, no quiet smile. Instead she was alert, quick, dominating. The next thing to be done must be done at once. It did not matter where the development of an important game might be, it was time right now to go out, or to wash one's hands, or to put one's things away. Something was building in the child's world, perhaps was nearing completion. It was intensely, absorbingly important, but it must be swept away, demolished, because we "were going down to the store," or "supper was ready." Her mother's voice was quick, charged with

nervous energy, immensely disturbing. It broke in upon play or phantasy with irritating persistency. She always intended to be very fond of her mother but before she quite accomplished it the voice would break in upon something very important and then she would be angry and very far away.

She "adored" her father. He was slow and quiet. If they were going anywhere he would come in ahead of time and say "We'll be going in half an hour. You might begin to get washed up in fifteen minutes or so." Or, "ten minutes more to bed time." With mother everything had to be done in a hurry, toys picked up anyhow and at once. The child, too, was high-strung. Her mother's jangling nerves set hers jangling to the same discords. Her father's quiet soothed her. He was a farmer and she loved to tramp the fields after him, wearing boy's shoes, passionately pretending that she was a boy. But after all she was also very much of a girl and loved girl's things. She liked dancing school and liked to be admired by boys. Very early she had a special boy whom she liked to consider quite her own. As she grew older the intense love for her father increased. She and her mother made conscious attempts at establishing a relationship, but they could never reach across those intangible barriers.

Mrs. Comphret was the personification of the things she had wanted in a mother and had not found. Gradually, as the relationship with her father had grown more satisfying, that need had grown less insistent. Mrs. Comphret, quiet, restful, slow, and smiling, died and had her "finneral."

Aida Paida was a less important figure. She faintly

resembled a little aunt who sometimes came to visit them. She took them for parties under the bass-wood tree, parties with real cookies instead of mud pies. In her absence Aida Paida took her place as guardian. She was a holiday sort of person but not so necessary as Mrs. Comphret. When she could tramp the fields with her father or go farther away with her sister, Aida Paida faded away. She, too, became unnecessary when the father filled her place.

Consciously the child missed nothing, since her father filled the place of both father and mother in her affections. But a single relationship should not be called upon to carry a double significance. It thereby becomes overweighted. The ties in the unconscious become too hard to break. This young woman said that she had never married because she had never found a man to compare with her father. She had many men friends but none who would understand her as he had done. If Mrs. Comphret's place could have been filled by her mother through a change in the mother-daughter relationship, there would not have been such an excess of emotion carried over to the father. It would then have been possible for her to accept the normal adult love relationship in its proper time.

We can no more blame the mother for not grasping the significance of the phantasy than for not understanding the not-yet-invented radio. Twenty years ago one would have laughed at the idea of attaching psychological importance to such a bit of whimsey. The mother was not neglectful. She was busy attending to the needs of the household as she saw them. It was unfortunate that she and this little daughter "got on each other's nerves."

It did not happen with the other, more placid child. Unfortunately their likeness, instead of making for greater understanding, accentuated the difficulties of each. If the meaning of Mrs. Comphret (who was a well-known person to the mother) could have been made plain it might have kept her from always being so "careful and troubled about many things"; and instead she might have found time for that quiet in which relationships, like other fruits of the spirit, can grow.

Often this phantasy self or dual personality is projected into some toy or other object. Girls frequently make use of dolls for this purpose. As in the following case, a little drama may be staged where the puppet actors represent different sides of the child's own nature, or of her phantasy self.

She was a slow, overgrown, clumsy child. Her body and her emotions were both too big for her. Because the quick expression of thought was as difficult for her as graceful bodily movement she was supposed to be stupid. It never occurred to any one that the overgrown, pent-up emotions got in the way of her thought expression as her too-big self got in the way of her bodily control.

She did not play much with other children but she had a large family of dolls on whom she lavished her devotion. They had varying personalities and two were singled out for the star rôles. One was a small, blue-eyed, golden-haired, wax doll; the other a rag doll, large and stolid. Many were the triumphs, both social and intellectual, of the golden-haired beauty. She lived a brilliant, dazzling life. The rag doll was regarded with scorn for the most part. She was slow and stupid. The beauty always surpassed her in her lessons when they played

school. Yet every now and then the blue-eyed darling would commit some sin for which she had to be punished with great severity. This generally took the form of a violent beating. Then the rag doll would be taken to the child's bosom and loved and praised, and overwhelmed with floods of maternal tenderness.

The intensity of the emotion showed in this play was so far removed from the child's ordinary quiet, controlled self that the mother was puzzled and asked advice.

A guarded exploration into the phantasy life of the child revealed a similarity in underlying idea. Her favorite story was of Thumbelisa, the tiny blue-eyed girl born in the tulip. She used to act this story when she was alone. Usually she was Thumbelisa, though sometimes Thumbelisa came as an imaginary companion to see her, and they had long conversations. The child hated the stories of big, clumsy people who were undone by the cleverness of little ones. There was an element of personal resentment in the feeling that she expressed about these tales. Then, as she began to talk more freely, there were references to her own clumsiness, mixtures of self-scorn and resentment. Once when asked if she would like to sit and rock in a tulip, she replied, "It would look nice when I sat in it, wouldn't it?"

The meaning of the doll-play now became evident, as did the cause for the intense display of emotion. The despised rag doll was herself as she believed people really regarded her, and as she really believed herself to be. The tiny doll was her phantasy self, the fairy princess whom she wished to be. Through this princess doll she lived her other life. In her identification with her she experienced the triumphs and joys that she thought would

be hers if she were only little and graceful and fair. Through her she obtained release from the too difficult world of reality. But sometimes when this real world pressed too hard (when, for instance, her brother greeted her with, "Hello, Clumsy!" or she felt awkward in a group of strangers) she became too painfully aware of the difference between her actual and her phantasy self. Then, in a flood of self-pity, she took vengeance upon the child of her dreams and gathered the rejected self into her arms. The phantasy self now ceased to be a sufficient refuge from her own insistent inner ego which felt so baffled by life. These dolls served a very real purpose in draining off the emotion which otherwise might have been the basis of a neurosis. Yet there was a danger that there might be a split between these two personalities, and the mother was wise in investigating the cause of these waves of savage emotion though they were vented only on a doll.

The sudden anger roused by a trivial incident is not really anger at, or because of, the incident; it is an anger roused by the power of the inner forces set in play by that incident. It is those inner forces which we must explore. Certain forms of emotion which have been exploited in literature are accepted. The touch of the hand of the beloved is supposed to arouse intense emotion. The shudder of the victim when the villain taps him lightly upon the shoulder is not expected to be in proportion to the physical sensation aroused by the severity of the tap. But why, we ask, should a little girl be seized with a paroxysm of almost hysterical anger because a blue-eyed doll slips down, and in so doing knocks an old doll from her place on the sofa? If, however, we understand

that the rag doll represents her despised self and that her identification with that self has just been made painfully apparent by some awkward act for which she was rebuked, we are no longer surprised at the savage revenge taken upon the desired phantasy self. It does not show some "strain of innate cruelty" as the mother feared, but a natural outbreak of pent-up emotions.

Understanding this, the mother was able to enter into the child's play, and to show an appreciation of the virtues of the rejected rag doll. Things which the child undervalued in herself were praised in the rag doll. Little glittering attractions which she had passionately overestimated and which she had worked out in the successes of the blue-eyed other self could be put in their place by a deft revaluation. Above all she could revalue the child herself and make this new understanding the guide in establishing a more sympathetic relationship. Here again is a place where we cannot directly analyze the situation with so young a child, for it would lead to greater self-consciousness; but through the child's own vehicle, play, which made use of these little marionette personalities to project her own unlived feelings and to eliminate the undesired, one could build up a new sense of values, break down the disintegrating sense of inferiority, and help the child to integrate with her own individuality which she had identified with the despised rag doll.

To pursue the retreat of the phantasy still further I would mention a case of extreme introversion where this same phantasy self was encased within the child herself. It was the same "other self" which in one child finds expression through the imaginary playmate and which in

this last instance is projected into the doll. In the next case the withdrawal is so complete that the imaginary playmate remains within the self. I will quote the words of the young woman who told me of this inner life.

"I am larger than most girls of my age. I love beauty. I especially admire small girls with golden curls and deep blue eyes. I like to dream that there is such a person inside me, and that I am just a shell, and that some day all this outer appearance of me will drop off and I shall appear like the lovely princesses in fairy tales, ravishingly beautiful, and lovable and gracious."

This inner self assumed a definite individuality. It pursued its own life. It compensated for the failures of the outer self. In the next reminiscence is shown the attempt of the child to win recognition on her own merits through the outer self which others saw. The pitiful rebuff drove her further back to the companionship of the inner self who she hoped was one day to become manifest.

"My father used to seem kind and sweet and worth knowing, much gentler and more patient than my mother, but infinitely remote. I wondered if he did not like me because I never had as much to say as my sister did. Most people among our relatives and friends thought me silent and hard to get acquainted with and I wanted dreadfully to have them like me. One day I was all washed and dressed in a perfectly new dress. It was Sunday and I found father sitting reading in the living room. I went up to him and told him how clean I was and asked him if I couldn't sit in his lap, and if he didn't think that he could love me."

The father allowed her to climb up but did not even

seem aware of the act. He went on reading and after a little the child slipped down and wandered away. She had made her best attempt to be received as her real self. She was "all washed and clean" and had put on a "perfectly new dress." She felt sure that if she was ever to be received on her own merits it would be now. Had the father accepted her then she would have felt reconciled to herself as she really was, but being repulsed she retreated farther into herself, there to compensate with phantasy. She remained throughout her girlhood and early womanhood unable to face the task of accepting herself. Whenever a relationship became of value and importance to her she retreated at the first sign of difficulty. She projected upon others her own attitudes toward herself and so was always expecting to be repulsed. She was beautiful and immediately attractive to people but she had no sense of stability in human relations. Especially was this so in her relations with men. She erected barriers which effectually cut them off. "Men never love women who are as big as I am," she said.

But to return to the early inner companions. As desires for more contacts grew the inner world became more populated. "Eating is funny business. I wonder where all the food goes, and what it does. Maybe there is another world inside me with cities and people and everything the way I see it outside. Or perhaps there is a ring of happy dancing children waiting down there to be fed when I am fed, but almost too happy and gay to care for such things as eating and sleeping and all the things that I love to do."

The gay happy children grew very real to her. She saw them dancing about in a ring. She herself was con-

tinually weighed down by a sense of duty and the need of being good and helpful, but these dancing children had no cause to be troubled by such things. She liked to feed them when she ate. They were also "playmates" but buried deep within herself. Through them she experienced some of that light-hearted joy which she felt she must not try to have herself because she was "different." The children helped her to separate herself more and more from life. Phantasy as compensation began to cast its spell. When she felt that these inner children were not enough and that she herself must have something, she did not go out to life but created another phantasy world in which she gave herself a place.

"When I was a little girl in the fourth grade I used, after not too happy days, to look forward with eagerness to the time when I went to bed, when I could lie unmolested by other people and weave phantasies. At first I dreamed that I was a lovely young woman in Holland, with a beautifully kept house and gardens and dairy, and spotless clothes and a pretty crisp cap." (Again we have the being very clean, spotless, which she had hoped would appeal to the father and win an expression of his love.)

"Then as I grew older I was fascinated with the power of teachers over boys in school. One very sweet-faced teacher entered my waking dreams. I'd see her standing with a boy who had been naughty whom she had to punish. The fact of her striking him seemed an evidence of deeper tenderness. I dwelt upon her putting her arms around him, and her power over him after she had punished him. Later I had a masterful, rather masculine teacher and I phantasied about situations involving myself and her."

Punishment took an important place in her phantasies as the split between the two selves grew greater.

Her sister made friends easily, and this increased the sense of inferiority which her own isolation gave her and made her take refuge in lessons where she could easily assert a superiority. The thinking self (which was not real for she was a feeling type) took control of the outer life, a very dutiful, clean, spotless, useful life. The inner playmate, the blue-eyed feeling self, was driven further and further back into the unconscious. Where a function is not allowed to develop through use it remains infantile, it drops back into the unconscious and there retreats to more and more primitive levels. Since change is the law of life, where there is not progress there will be regression. The feeling self living only in the inner world of phantasy went back to the world of the collective unconscious. Strange unreasoning emotions took possession of her, obsessive thoughts rose up apparently of themselves, perversions which our civilization has outgrown but which still retain their power, pursued her. Now the retreat was cut off. The phantasy life, too, became peopled with forces of terror and she took refuge in a neurosis.

I do not mean that any such clear form of the difficulty lay open to inspection. To follow the thread of such a phantasy leads us through a labyrinth more twisted than that of Crete, and the silken thread by which we would find our way out is often tangled and broken. The original phantasy of the blue-eyed inner self did not persist unchanged but took on many forms. Nevertheless it was this phantasy self which marked the first split in the personality—the separation between the thinking self and the self of feeling and relationships.

Here we may trace the analogy between this type of phantasy and the old fairy tale. The Frog Prince must be taken in the maiden's lap in his form of ugly frog. Beauty must kiss the Beast while he is yet a beast, and recognize the love and kindliness that has shone through his beastly outer self. It is only when we feel ourselves accepted as we really are, our whole selves with both the good and evil, that we can find true release of our feeling selves. Through feeling ourselves acceptable to one whom we love we can also accept ourselves. If the child's father had accepted her as she really was and shown his love, if she had been conscious of his love for her, she would not have needed this inner self as a refuge from reality.

Of course I do not mean that this single act of the father had in itself so far-reaching an effect. It was destructive because typical of the entire attitude. If there had been a confidence and friendship between them a single act of absent-minded coldness would have had no such disastrous effect. As a crystallization of all that the child had dimly perceived in the situation, it impressed her, little as she was, with a sense of finality.

Contrast this with the imaginary playmates of a happy, much loved, child. She was friendly as a puppy and had the puppy's confidence in the friendship of the world. She did not go to school until she was over seven, and before then had not many flesh and blood children with whom to play. This did not trouble her, for the garden was full of children. She would call to them from her window when she was dressing in the morning. She would run out to say good morning before breakfast, and whenever she was alone would invent games with them or tell

them stories. They had parties and dances. Fairies lived under the big syringa bush. "The children" did not go there except when the fairies gave permission. Mr. Migglesby lived in the pear tree. He was little and wore brown clothes and had bright, beady, black eyes like a robin. He was great friends with all the creatures and people who could fly. He told stories about them and scolded the baby birds when they were naughty. Mr. Migglesby had one alarming quality. He walked into strange places. The child used to creep into a low branch of the pear tree to read. There were certain books that belonged to the pear tree. *Revelation* was one. Mr. Migglesby got mixed up with the strange beasts and with angels with flaming swords. He was suspected of having conversations with cherubim. At such times Mr. Migglesby was not like a robin but was full of almost unpleasant mystery. Usually, though, he was friendly and amusing. There were a great many other people in the garden too. In winter many of them moved into the house. Two children lived back of the parlor sofa. Mr. Migglesby never came in. He preferred the pear tree even if it snowed. Sometimes so many children came into the house that grown people (who never could see very well) had to be careful where they sat down, or they might sit on one. When the child went to school these playmates gradually disappeared, or perhaps came back only on rainy days. Even when they were most present they never interfered with the other joyous affairs of daily living, and when real children took their places they came less and less often.

Another child of much the same type had two children who were always near by. She had only to stretch out

her hand and immediately one of these children would seize each one and they would all three run or dance together. She called them by name, she talked to them. They were as real as any people. But here again there was no separation from life and as their places were more and more filled by actual children they vanished away. With both these children, however, there remained a quality of imagination which greatly enriched life. Though they apparently vanished I know that in one instance at least they lived again and again in adolescent phantasy and adult dream.

This projection of the imaginary playmate may take many forms; the form corresponds to, and is indicative of, the type of child.

An adopted child of extreme sensation type found her means of satisfaction through sensory excitement, especially through the sense of touch. She was greatly moved by caresses and physical demonstration. Her imaginary playmate was the tail of an old fur piece. Whenever she felt neglected or slighted she would bring out this bit of fur, and while making it stroke her, would hold long, whispered conversations with it. In this play the fur showed its love for her by its soft contacts. Sometimes one caught such sentences as "You love me, Dear One. Don't you? Of course you love me." The sensation of satisfaction from this physical contact was manifestly that of self-love. It was akin to the auto-erotic manifestations of masturbation and self caresses. Here, however, they received an added gratification through projection. By endowing the fur with personality she could enact a little drama in which she received attention from some one outside of herself. From this person she

could receive approbation without the trouble of winning it through real effort.

When she had been criticized or had failed in her school adjustments, she would take this fur, or a similar soft "playmate," to bed with her. From the expression on her face when talking to it I believe that she used it in masturbation or to stimulate masturbation and phantasy at night. I know that several times she took it with her to the bathroom. This occasionally happened at school, and from the expression on her face on return I feel sure it was used in this type of phantasy. She would steal her hand into her desk caressing it and at that time she had a curious detached smile: not the smile of a happy friendly child ready for human contacts, but the smile of one who has withdrawn to a secret world.

As is frequently the case with adopted children she felt a sense of insecurity in her emotional life which showed itself in outbursts of jealousy. When walking with her father and mother she did not wish to have them talk of any things which did not directly include her. If a conversation on an adult topic started she would dart between them seizing a hand of each. Then if the conversation continued she would toss away their hands and seize something to caress and whisper to. If they were in the country she would perhaps take a smooth stone and stroke her cheek or press a sharp one into her hand. This might be followed by a "black mood" when she would be contrary, forgetful, or even directly disobedient. The substitute had not really satisfied, and the pent-up emotion found its outlet in these negative reactions which attracted attention to herself and gave her a gratification even though the attention took the

form of punishment. Spanking, or any form of physical punishment, is to be especially avoided with children of this type since it is often a sensation gratification. It is this type of child who is frequently described as "spoiling for a spanking"; and who will work up scenes until the desired spanking has been administered and then find release in the stimulation of the physical sensation and the resulting emotional storm. After this there is a calm reaction which appears as "goodness." The child is usually unconscious of what she is doing and does not understand what is driving her to acts which she knows will bring the punishment, and her tears are quite genuine. I have, however, known children who were quite conscious of these urges. One little girl, daughter of a pious New England pastor, quite openly described to other little children how good it felt to be spanked and how she did one specially forbidden thing because then she was always spanked with a hair brush and it "felt so good all over and even way in your stomach." Another child, a boy who had abounding muscular energy and a highly energetic mother, described to a group of children the sensations in his genitals when his mother, following the good old custom of energetic mothers, turned him over her knee and used the palm of her capable hand with an effect quite as satisfactory as the hairbrush. Both the pious pastor, who feared physical gratification as traffic with the devil, and the overworked mother, who was afraid her son might get beyond her control, would have been surprised and horrified at knowing the actual results of their fears lest they "spare the rod and spoil the child." Such children are commonly known as masochist or children who take pleasure in having pain inflicted upon them.

But to return to our special case. It was harder to establish a sense of ordinary values than is usual, for failures and disapprobation drove her to seek comfort with her playmate and her phantasies. The games with "Dear One" furnished a retreat. When she did begin to make contacts with children her phantasy life showed in an unusual curiosity as to their visits to the toilet and in whispered "secrets" which had to do with bits of sex information gathered through underground channels. This was not at all surprising, for self-gratified sensation links up with such phantasies. Also this knowledge gave her a certain power which she could not obtain through legitimate accomplishment. Her love of color and sound and beauty was not sufficiently differentiated to make her willing to make real effort in order to accomplish something in her music or her painting. The easy way of achievement through phantasy had too great a lure.

Here then was the problem, to use the knowledge obtained from the interpretation of the playmate in a constructive way. The child was not abnormal or perverted, terms which we use so freely to cover our lack of skill. She was simply a difficult child swayed by forces which she could not understand. The key to the difficulties lay in the understanding of this inner life. The child could not be left too much alone. She needed human contacts, not just offered for her refusal but made attractive so that they would be desired. She must have socialized standards and directed desires so that she would be willing to work for real achievement and the approbation of real people for whom she cared. Since her phantasy was a retreat and not a creative thing, she must

find a substitute in something which made use of her sensation function in a positive way.

The fact that her normal approach was through sensation must not be disregarded nor undervalued. With our absurd horror of the physical, so deep-rooted in our sex fears, we are apt to consider the sensation type as inferior. But even the city of the New Jerusalem (the inner kingdom of the spirit) has four walls and in each wall three gates and there is no one gate selected by which alone the elect may enter. The important thing is that we may enter in, and possess the city, instead of remaining at the gateway. This child's approach to life, to human relationships, to feeling and thinking would normally be through sensation, but it must be a trained and differentiated sensation.

Through modeling and painting and music she could be drawn to a sense of creation. This had to be done by group work where she had a sense of values through group criticism. She was made a member of a play class where she found group activities in which her little world of phantasy compensation had no value. It is generally a pity to fill a child's day so full that there is no time for games or thoughts of their own devising, but in such a case the more filled the better, provided there is a real purpose back of the activity. Difficult situations should not be handled just before bedtime nor should the child of this type go to bed with feelings of inferiority uppermost, for these feelings will be appeased by phantasy and masturbation, and it is quite natural that this should be so.

Most important of all is the establishing of a real feeling relationship, both for her school work and for her general

development. Children, like most grown-up people, are not greatly influenced by high-minded abstract ideas of duty. They do the things that seem normal and pleasant and interesting. Dull forms of effort are illuminated by human interests to which they are attached. This child loved attention and was given to violent attachments. These interests could be used. With such a child a caress must never be accepted as a substitute for an act of real feeling, neither must it be treated as something shameful. It must be accepted as something valuable when, and only when, it is offered in connection with some positive feeling act. Careless work or disobedience cannot be expiated with caresses. A nice balance must be kept so that physical expression shall neither be rebuffed nor allowed to exist in and for itself. In the more abstract forms it must be directed into creative channels.

Of a very different type is this boy who also chose an inanimate object as an imaginary companion. Here was objectified a side of himself, the ease-loving, sensation self that he dimly felt must be conquered if his other self was to develop. I give his own reminiscence.

The Dresser

It wasn't ugly. No, that would have made the whole matter commonplace and drab (one always hears of people detesting ugly furniture) and I wouldn't have paid any more attention to it than my white iron bedstead. The fact that it was really the nicest thing in the room, that it was carved almost beautifully, that it ostentatiously exhibited in its every line that self-satisfaction of knowing that it *was* nice—these were the things I loathed.

Let me explain. You spoke of imaginary companions as

beings whom one created to fill a need, to whom one turned as to a friend in time of trouble. Unfortunately you forgot to say anything about those who had no need to fill, those poor souls who had everything necessary to fulfill ambitions, who railed and wept and stormed against a well-to-do, middle-class life. I had friends, why create another? I had dreams, why force them into the shape of a definite fancy? I had food, and clothes, and books. The whole world wished me well and tried to help me. Why burden myself with more well-meaning friends?

Sometimes I wish I had been born to a poverty-stricken life, to a hard unsympathetic family, to a childhood full of misery and pain. There would have been so much more incentive to get somewhere, to do something. There would be that aura of romance and glory attached to "lifting myself by my own boot-straps."

It was in these moods that I talked to the dresser. Talked, did I say? Nay, rather stormed, scolded, wept, and beat at it with puny fists. There was no *talk* in our communion!

There was one night I remember about seven or eight years ago. I had been scolded for some minor infraction upon household custom and as usual had retired to my room to sulk and muse darkly upon the hard life that was mine. There it stood, hideously smug and complacent, silently but firmly reproving me for being a naughty little boy. How I hated it! How I fought, and argued with it! Hour after hour, far into the night I talked, trying to show my side, and, if possible, grasp the other. And hour after hour it stood there just as silently as ever but in a firm manner telling me, "Now you're all excited, dear. Go to sleep and tomorrow you'll feel much different."

"I will not go to sleep! I will not! Oh, you're good, aren't you? You great, big fat smarty! You and papa and mamma, and—Oh, I hate you."

"Now, please, Leo, go to sleep like a good boy——"

And so on. Of course I fell asleep at last—from exhaustion. It was my own pounding at life and life, as yet, was the stronger.

Two and a half years ago, just before I ran away, the dresser was discarded. Since I've come back I've missed it. There, at least, was something real to fight—life now is so much harder to battle, for it has no symbol to grasp. It eludes one, and leads one on like a will-o'-the-wisp until one sinks in the marshes. In time, I could have overcome the dresser—it is well-nigh impossible to overcome that which has no substance.

On May 18, 19—I suddenly betook myself to Philadelphia, found a job the following day, grew homesick the next and wrote home. On May 22nd, my brother-in-law came down and brought me home, meek and penitent.

Your other queries are not so easy to answer. As I've told you, the more introspective I get, the less I know about myself. I'm sure I'm the last person in the world who can say whether I dislike ease and comfort. There are times when I think it is the greatest deterrent to my career, and other times when it becomes the most necessary factor in my life. The whole matter is so inextricably woven into the pattern of my existence that I could explain very little to you without writing reams upon reams of senseless paper. In a general way, tho, I think I can say that the idea of ease and comfort as commonly accepted does not make for what I want to be.

It's all very indefinite and indistinct, you see.

The last paragraph means this: that the dresser was an emblem of life, much as a play, in battle, was an emblem of a nation. Conquer the emblem and you have conquered the nation. But since the dresser was thrown out, I can fight life only in the vaguest of abstracts—and I'll never know if I've won or lost.

We now come to one of my most interesting cases, a part of which has been quoted elsewhere by Jung.

At seven years of age, Margaret was confronted by the world of outer reality and found it too hard. Up to that time the world had been made up of a very loving father and mother, a pet or two, here and there a much younger child, and a whole world of people, unseen by other eyes, who came and went, danced, sang, played, or rendered homage as her imagination dictated. Now, suddenly, like a cloud that swallows up the sun, had come school that ate chunks out of the day which had always been exclusively hers and that paid no attention to her realities.

There had been a reason for her finding her life in this other world and for the special protection with which she had been surrounded. An operation in very early infancy had left a train of physical handicaps and a nervous instability that made some of the simple things, like dressing and waiting on herself and performing small tasks for others, things to be postponed because of the undue nervous strain entailed. There was a lack of muscular coördination. Progress had to be one step at a time. She had the same difficulty in handwork; writing and drawing were very hard. Compensating for this was a vivid imagination that sometimes stimulated her to undue excitement. When interested in phantasy she would spoil nearly completed papers by scrawling "funnies" over them. Overeffort brought inevitable reaction.

Confronted with such a situation what could be expected except that love would become a shielding and protecting power? Also, inevitably, the child became aware of this protection. It invested her with a sense of satisfaction and power which normally comes from accomplishment. A child will try over and over to walk and when, in spite of many falls he can trot about, seems

to know no weariness in his own exertions. When normal advance is checked and the child has to have things done for him which he would usually do for himself the sense of power becomes diverted and he finds his satisfaction in ruling others and accepting their attentions. So with this child certain physical disabilities were continued because they made it possible for her to dominate her parents. She was herself unaware of the fact that she clung to certain symptoms because they gave her a means of demanding attention, and it was not until she was thrown with other children who quite frankly regarded these things as inferiorities that she suddenly became aware of them as real limitations. Now came a split between the motivation of the conscious and the unconscious selves. Consciously she wanted to do as the others did and she pitied herself for the inabilities; unconsciously she clung to the weapons that gave her her power. After struggles to adjust in this new world she would retreat into the old attitude of helplessness and phantasy, and at these times certain difficulties in walking and using her hands became exaggerated. Real playmates were not amenable to direction and besides they were lacking in interest; therefore the imaginary ones took on added luster. As quickly as possible she returned to the land of make-believe.

After a time at school it became evident that she needed special psychological help and she began working certain hours under this type of direction. Reading was the normal approach to the mental discipline of formal training, for her natural approach was through the world of imagination. For the sake of stories, carefully selected because of their imaginative appeal, she learned to read

and, once started, made rapid progress, though great care had to be taken not to permit overexertion. In other studies, though, progress was still slow and there were continued resistances.

One day she announced: "I have a twin. Her name is Anna. She is just like me except that she always wears beautiful clothes and never wears glasses (glasses meant to her weak eyes that kept her from poring over the books that she now loved). If Anna were here, I should like to work better."

"I should like to have Anna too," was the answer. "Suppose you invite her."

Margaret went out of the room and returned with Anna who was at once provided with a chair and table and instructed by Margaret as to the work to be done. In order to show Anna she began to write. After this Anna was always there. First Margaret would write and then Anna. It was interesting to note that if she became discouraged and wished to show temper or obstinacy she always slipped out of Anna's seat and had her outbursts in her own character of Margaret.

One day everything went wrong and at last she burst out, "I shall never learn to write and it is all my mother's fault! I am left-handed and she never told my first teacher. I had to try to write with my right hand and now I shall grow up and never write at all, all because of my mother."

The psychologist told her of another child who was left-handed and whose mother had made the same mistake. Margaret said eagerly, "So he can never write?"

"Of course he does," said the psychologist, "he writes stories and all sorts of things. It was just harder for him,

that is all. He generally writes with his left hand now. You may write with your left hand if you wish."

Margaret replied, "But I like my right hand best."

"Oh, then it does not seem to be mother's fault. I wonder whose fault it is!"

The child would only answer, "I don't know." Thereupon it was suggested, "You might ask Anna."

She left the room, and after a while she returned saying, "Anna says it is my own fault and I had better go to work," and she immediately did so.

Now began a new phase of her development. Before this she would not discuss her own responsibilities, but now she would go out of the room, and talk it over with Anna, and bring back the result. Sometimes she would return with every sign of rebellion, but she would always tell the truth as to what Anna's dictates were and she would go out again to remonstrate, but Anna insisted, "Margaret, it is your fault. You've got to try."

Shortly after this there was an outbreak of emotion in which she called Anna her darling who could not love her, and then breaking from Anna's stern rule she spoiled all her work with "sillies" and would talk only nonsense. Anna was banished for a short time, but after a day or two Margaret said, "Anna is quite lonely, I think it is time she came back." Anna returned but she had lost none of her firmness of character.

About this time another person made her appearance. She was a blind child and had to be helped in every way. She also could not hear very well and could not be asked to do any work. Anna, the inexorable, decided that she could not be at school, but she was always waiting just outside. During this time Margaret told the following

dream. "I went to see Miss X (her gymnasium teacher who gave her special arm and foot exercises that she did not enjoy) and another teacher met us at the door and said, 'You can't come in children, Miss X is very ill.' We went in and Miss X was in a bathrobe with big buttons. She said she would be sick a long time. It seemed very nice." Since in her conscious she was trying so hard to live up to Anna's requirements her unconscious was, in a dream, showing her a way out which would not be her own fault. Soon after this she produced what I believe was a phantasy, though she called it a "dream story."

"What do you suppose happened? Why I was blind and father and mother and everybody were so sad and unhappy and so sorry that they had been bad to me and they did everything that I wanted."

She went on to explain the advantages of being blind because then no one would think you ought to do things that you did not want. I explained how the blind learned to read, and the next day I brought a lovely bit of work done by a blind child. She was deeply impressed for she saw that a handicap meant that you must work the harder, and she was too honest to deny a thing that she really understood. Now the blind child came less frequently but when she did she was treated with great tenderness.

All this time Anna was with us though there were signs that Margaret was growing restive under her dictatorship. One day she had an outburst of anger against her mother. She stormed into the room crying, "Mother is horrid, horrid, horrid!"

"Who is horrid?" she was asked.

"Mother," she replied.

"You might ask Anna," I suggested.

There was a long pause then she said, "Pooh! I guess I know as much as Anna! I'm horrid. I'll go tell mother."

She did this and then returned quietly to work. She had now accepted Anna as a projected part of herself and had taken another definite step forward. But we progressed as did the famous frog in the well, three feet up and slip back two. Progressions are followed by regressions which sometimes seem to carry us even further back for they take us into deeper layers of the unconscious. Some days later she stopped in the middle of a lesson and burst forth, "I hardly ate any breakfast, I did not eat any lunch. I shall not eat any supper. To-night I am going to die. Yes, that is what I shall do. I shall die in about the middle of the night." After working again for some time she looked off into space and said, "How they will weep!"

About ten days later she was unable to do any work. She could not remember familiar words. She was confused, said $2 - 2 = 6$ and nearly wept. Then I said, "What do you really want to think about to-day?"

"Nothing."

"Are you trying to work?"

"It doesn't seem so."

"Would you like me to tell you about the work or something else?"

She turned her back. "I don't want anything."

After a time she turned again but, seeing me looking, quickly turned her back. Then I got up and walked to the window. After some time I said quietly, "Well, what is it?"

She came running to me, her face was pale and her

eyes glared. "I want to see some one die. I want to watch them do it. I *want to!*"

"Do you want to die?"

"No, but I want to see some one else. I must."

I said, "I have seen people die."

"Tell me."

"One person whom I saw die went to sleep and then just stopped breathing."

"What happened afterward?"

"Nothing that we could see. The spirit went away."

"What was the place like where it went?"

"We don't know, only God knows that."

"If she had done bad things would God want to hurt her?"

"I don't think God ever wants to hurt us. We hurt ourselves when we won't do right."

She sat thinking, then softly to herself: "I pray to God and so does Anna." Then she was still I think ten minutes or more. "Were you very near her when she died?"

"I was right beside her holding her hand."

Silence again, then a deep sigh as though she were pulling herself up from a depth. "Then you know." After a moment she said, "I'll read now."

All through the hour she worked with a concentration that was unusual. How slow we should be to pass judgment. It is only by knowing the inner life of the individual child, as we cannot know it except through a sympathetic relationship, that we can arrive at the motivation of a single act. Here was every evidence of obstinacy and naughtiness yet the cause of it was the interest with which she was pursuing a speculation which

has absorbed the minds of philosophers. Of course, in this child, the idea had also a personal fascination in that her problem just now was the desire of the unconscious to retreat from the too difficult task, but there was no trivial naughtiness.

Now the idea of death wove itself into her phantasies. She told a story of a misunderstood little girl and of her beautiful deathbed surrounded by weeping friends and family. All the time the reality of living was making stronger and stronger claims. Real children were assuming more and more importance, real achievement was becoming more and more worth while. It is a great mistake to try to separate such a child from her world of imagination for it is a world of untold wealth and resource if only it is not used as an escape. Both worlds were growing more real to her. One day after hours of hard work she said to her mother, "I want to hurry home today. I want to think."

"What are you going to think about?" her mother asked.

"Oh, all my people, the real people."

When at home she climbed into a chair and sat perfectly still for nearly two hours, after which she climbed down entirely satisfied and went back to the world of outer realities.

During this time of her struggles to integrate with Anna another playmate appeared during her hours at home. This was Daphy who lived in the Kiki House. The Kiki House was a little old wooden house which the child passed on her way to the park. It was a house that belonged to the past generations, the only wooden house in that part of the city. It appealed to the child's im-

agination and immediately she began to people it. Whether or not her unconscious recognized it as belonging to the past would be impossible to say but it is an interesting coincidence that she chose this as the home of her regressive self. Daphy would not grow up, would not "be good." She was the other side of the unconscious, the dark side, as Anna was the bright, the progressive side. Daphy never appeared at school or during her hours of special work. There the task was growing up, accepting the new attitude. But when the old psychological habits reasserted themselves at home (a place of relaxation and babyhood) Daphy was greatly in evidence. With her changing standards it was no longer possible to accept this very infantile person as herself so Daphy took over the burden, and the undesirable self was projected upon her. It was Daphy who made all the naughty suggestions. It was Daphy who could not dress herself or tie her shoes or keep her temper. When Daphy became quite unbearable and something obviously had to be done with her, she was put in the Kiki House and not allowed to come out.

Since Margaret herself never mentioned Daphy during her hours of work it would have been a great mistake to have discussed her or to have opened the doors for her appearance at these times. She might then have been seized upon as a possible way of escape from the difficult task which those hours represented. Whatever might have been gained in psychological insight or theoretical knowledge of such problems would have been more than offset by the loss to this special child. This was one of the places where the workings of the unconscious must be respected. It must never be forgotten that the child is

a mysteriously developing individuality, not a laboratory case.

All this time Anna continued to occupy an important place though she no longer assumed the rôle of dictator. Margaret was directing her own affairs. She had joined a play class and found the necessary adjustments none too easy. One day when there had been storms she was sent home. She wept bitterly, but insisted that she was weeping for a farm where she had been the summer before and for a very much younger child with whom she had played. She told me of this most dramatically and said, "You should have seen me weep."

The next day she brought this dream. "I was in K playing with H (the farm and the little girl). We were in the woods. I filled my wheelbarrow with leaves. Then I ran right over H and killed her dead. Just think, I killed her! squashed and dead!" A long pause: then a wicked gleam appeared in her eye. "Some day soon I think I'll run over the twin and squash her dead."

She was taken back into the play class and began to adjust with the children. The twin vanished. She had "killed her dead."

I cannot leave the description of this struggle with the adjustment of the two worlds without quoting the following which she made of the well-known bit of doggerel verse, at the time of one of her failures.

Its easy enough to be happy
When your house is full of good things
But if you want to fly
You'd better not try,
Unless you've a pair of wings.

But to return to Anna and her psychological importance. Because of early illness a certain amount of overdependence had been a necessity. It had been necessary to give her more help and sheltering than is the case with a perfectly well child. Since this care was motivated by a deep love and sympathy, the tendency was toward overprotection and the child found in it a refuge from all the things that were too hard. In these special circumstances it is difficult to know just when this care should be withdrawn.

If the way is made too hard discouragement and feelings of inferiority will arise which are more destructive than the results of protection. The child who has too much love stands a better chance than the child who has too little, but in either case there is a difficult time of adjustment to the ordinary life and to its responsibilities. When Margaret stepped out of this safe little world in which she had lived and was confronted with a world where she was not the object of special devotion, she was bewildered. Power had come to her through her weaknesses, so naturally she took refuge in them. All the infantile part of herself hung back from making the struggle necessary for this new adaptation. But deep down within, down in the unconscious, two selves were struggling: this regressive self and the progressive growing self. Since in her outer adaptation she was allied with the infantile self, the other self became projected into the figure of Anna. She was innately honest, therefore she could not reject Anna. In such a case a split arises such as takes place in pathological cases of dual personality. The two selves confront each other. Now the problem which must be faced is whether these two

selves will continue upon ever-diverging paths, or whether they shall become merged in a single individual. In the former case the regressive self continues to exercise childish power and retreat while the other self pursues a purely compensatory life in the phantasy world; in the latter case the progressive self becomes integrated in the individual, and through its acceptance a unification takes place. Here is a test of the honesty of the individual. Margaret was not able to face all these new demands when they were first presented, but when she retreated from her task she knew that she was making the wrong choice. Anna was called into being and she accepted from this other self the truth that she could not admit from the outside. Each time that she went the same road as Anna the division grew less, until finally she "knew as well as Anna." Then Anna became unnecessary, outgrown; the very continuance of her life now became a regression and Anna was "killed and dead."

With a child so attuned to the inner world of the unconscious it is interesting to note how the dreams also present the problem. Space here is too limited to give the dream progression, but the two dreams quoted show the close connection between dream and phantasy. In the dream of Miss X is shown the strong desire to have the responsibility taken from her. Miss X, who represents the work she does not like, is ill, and "it seemed very nice." Later when she fails in her play class and her relationships with children her own age, the much littler girl returns as the symbol of the easy regressive way; but now she has really accepted the other path so she triumphantly runs over this other self and "squashes" her. Anna, now having become integrated in her own

individuality, also becomes part of her outgrown past and so she kills her and takes up her own responsibilities in her real self as Margaret.

I do not mean that with the death of Anna the phantasy life ceased. It continued in varying forms, sometimes as creative imaginations, sometimes as compensation, and sometimes projections of things that needed to be rejected from the developing self. It would be a great loss if this phantasy life should cease, for it contains the living creative element, all the more living because of its growing power to reject the outworn symbol and to accept a new one better suited to the present need.

In contrast to this I would give the imaginary playmate (the projected phantasy self) of a child whose task was apparently not so hard but who chose the divided path and who developed a definite split between the real and the phantasy self. This second child was an intuitive extravert. She skipped along the road of life lightly taking the high spots. She was pretty, rather precocious, but without depth or power of sustained effort. She, too, received too much rather than too little love, but it was an unwise and overadmiring love, not one evoked by the special need of the child. Very early she had learned the power of creating an effect. With an air of lovely unconcern she could stray out of an organized line quite upsetting the usual order and looking sweetly unconscious of such remarks as, "Isn't she cunning!" Or she could rush into a room breaking in on whatever was in progress and focusing all the attention upon herself.

The first days at school brought no sense of difficulty but rather a feeling of new worlds unrolled for triumphant conquest. But when conquest began to involve

real effort this new world lost its charm. Taking time to finish a piece of work neatly, relinquishing the center of the stage to others, trying to sound out a word instead of making it up, all these things required hard work, and hard work was exceedingly unattractive.

There was another difficulty. Her father had recently lost most of his money and it meant a good deal of sacrifice to send her to a private school. There was not much left over for incidentals. The new clothes which at home had seemed greatly to be admired now seemed quite ordinary. They attracted no attention and boasting about them only brought ridicule. Several of the children came in motors, also a source of envy. Up to this time she had been much in the company of an adoring aunt. Her mother had taken over some of the office work in order to help over the financial crisis and the aunt, a much older woman had "played with Sally," literally played with her all sorts of games which she always won, because "she loved to." With the children she did not always win nor was her right to such supremacy admitted.

One day she arrived with a tale of a little girl who came to see her. She wore a blue velvet coat trimmed with fur and came in an automobile. Her name was Sally also. Her father was very rich and gave Sally everything she wanted. The naïveté which she showed in choosing her own name for the playmate was amusing. Now Sally became a very important person in her life. Whenever the aunt had to be busy about her household tasks Sally was there to take her place, though there were frequent interruptions in order that Sally might be admired. If she failed in school immediately Sally ac-

quired a new glory. Then things began to disappear, small quantities of money, trifles valued by the children, and Sally the first began to display things given her by Sally the second. This led to a dramatic revelation of the character of Sally the magnificent, and she vanished from the stage.

This might have been considered the death of Sally the second, but it was only her translation to another sphere. So far as I know her place was not taken by any other acknowledged playmate. It was only in this special crisis that I came in contact with the child and after this dénouement I heard very little about her.

Some years later I was again asked to see Sally. She had followed a somewhat tortuous path but had always managed to get by, and had progressed from grade to grade. For a long time there had always seemed to be so plausible a reason for failure, so sympathetic an attitude toward the instructor who was bringing her shortcomings to the light that it was difficult to blame her. A failure always became only a near-failure before the actual day of reckoning. But now she was definitely failing both at school and in her home responsibilities. She arrived at her first interview very charmingly solicitous and desirous of being of all possible assistance in the solution of her "difficult" problem. It took only a little proving to find that Sally the second was still so much alive that she had become the dominating personality; only she was no longer objectified in an imaginary companion, she was the phantasy side of the self.

The present Sally was little disturbed by the difficulties of the immediate situation, quite undisturbed by complete failures in her English courses. She was in-

tending to be a writer largely because one could be "such an influence for good." Already she carried on conversations with well-known people met in the dream world. Whenever rhetoric or geometry presented difficulties "Sally" appeared in vivid form to the front of the page and conversed wittily. Sally the first went to sleep every night listening to the repartee of Sally the second or watching her dress for a party.

It was easy to obtain these phantasies because as soon as she felt that they were attracting interest she poured them forth. That she undoubtedly played them up and added to them on the spot did not make them the less revealing of the phantasy habits and their use in her life. In her identifications with Sally the second she had felt herself really quite removed from the ordinary demands of her real circumstances. Certain things quite suited to the very limited finances of the family seemed impossibly hard: teachers did not understand her real nature or noble ambitions. She had been in the habit of elaborate evasions of the point at issue. Now she had to have all this taken from her. Quite ruthlessly the situation had to be shown her, ruthlessly and briefly. The two selves had to confront one another and discussion cease. She had to confront the present crisis as a crisis and stand or fall by the actual act without being allowed even the usual explanation. Poor little Sally the first had a hard struggle and is still a feeble child, but she is growing, I am told. One interesting detail was that whereas she had apparently forgotten the childish playmate, Sally the second still dressed in blue, preferably blue velvet.

Such a phantasy life frequently takes place without an objectification in the playmate. I have known many

such cases, but where we find the playmate definitely personified it furnishes us with a valuable clew to the inner life.

Take, for example, the playmate "Bill" who for many months was the inseparable companion of seven-year-old Jimmy. Jimmy was an only child but he lived in a neighborhood where small boys abounded. He would start out to play with the other boys but soon would be back enthusiastically engaged in a game with "Bill." At first Bill amused the boy's parents. Then the mother noticed that in every game with Bill, Jimmy always won. Bill was reported as being able to "lick any boy on the block," but Jimmy could always lick Bill. Bill could run faster, throw a stone farther, etc., but still Jimmy could always come out ahead. A little investigation showed that Jimmy was quite easily outdistanced in most games with boys, but as soon as he lost he came home to play with Bill. His mother heard him call out, "I'm going home to play with a feller who could beat any of you."

Bill had a rival, Jimmy's father. Jimmy would always desert Bill on Sunday when his father was at home and their games together were the events of the week. One day, however, his father remarked that he thought he would play with Bill instead, for Bill was such a good sport. Then followed a discussion of what it meant to be a good loser. This was not received with very good grace but his father was firm. Bill was better company because he played fair. After a time Bill's standards became accepted and instead of being used as a foil he was now a model. If Bill would play fair and thereby earn the approval of the idolized father, so would Jimmy.

By and by Bill vanished. His place was filled by Mr. Murphy, an inventor, and afterward by many others.

Quite recently I have come upon a nearly identical playmate, one Johnnie by name, who also was always defeated, even though it frequently took some cheating to bring about this desired result. His creator, now a grown man, says that he still remembers vividly how chagrined he was when his mother and grandmother pitied "poor Johnnie" for losing instead of admiring him for being always victor. Johnnie was a more comprehensive character, as his creator was more solitary. He acted as guide, philosopher and friend, and frequently as a projected conscience. He went away when his creator became old enough to play on the street with other boys, but he was never forgotten.

Often when the playmate changes frequently, indeed where there are a whole host of playmates, we still find that the phantasy that underlies them remains the same and is indicative of the trend of those unconscious forces which, if allowed their way, may later take control of the conscious life.

School, to Barbara, was a dreary world, a world where 4×6 must inevitably make 24, and a picture must be interpreted by silly little cabalistic signs instead of by the story that it told inside your own head. Even when there were interesting things like acting and you had wonderful ideas and knew just the part you wanted some one else got it. The real world began at home and was filled with people, princes and lovely ladies and "magics" who did as you told them. Best of all was when father got home. The regular formula which ushered in the play hour was, "now *you* be what *I* pretend."

Perhaps she would be a lovely princess seated in a great armchair throne while her page bowed low before her. "Open the royal door quickly!" cries the princess in a none too gracious voice. "Don't you hear some one knocking?"

"Your majesty, a thousand pardons."

The door is opened, the page bows low announcing "His majesty, the Prince of Umphalazia, has come to sue for the royal hand." Other suitors come till the throne room is filled. The page repeats the words of the royal suitors, certain levity is permitted, but if he grows too facetious he is sharply rebuked and properly humbled. Suddenly the door is opened, not by a suitor, but by nurse announcing supper and bed. Instantly the princess vanishes, and in her place appears a very ugly little girl fighting at nurse. The page goes down on all fours and announces that he is an elephant, the princess mounts upon his back and rides to the banquet, and the elephant stands on his hind legs and feeds her.

This, as nearly as I can remember the wording, is an exact scene which I watched from a secluded corner. Night after night it was repeated with varying characters but always the child occupied the leading rôle and the father was obedient to her commands. When playing with children she chose those younger and slower than herself, and her vivid imagination intrigued them and made them almost submit to her commands. If they were insubordinate she was quite content to fill their places with imaginary actors and go on with the drama. There was never such a difficulty with her father who was the ideal servitor.

But this is hardly the rôle that a father is intended to

occupy, even in imagination. It is not surprising that this child had "difficulties of adjustment," jealousies and tempers with her mother, night terrors and other upheavals of the unconscious. Yet this child had a very positive wealth in the fertility and originality of her imagination. She was an irrational, and the formal side of studies meant nothing whatever to her. Her father, who also hated the routine of life and loved these play hours of escape, treated her failures at school with amusement and was really more interested in hearing of the doings of the other-world people. In this way his love was helping her to build up a dual personality: the princess self who could command and bestow, and exact homage; and the "misunderstood" self who was continually being asked to do unreasonable duties. These two selves were growing farther and farther apart.

This is the same psychological process which is at work in cases of hysteria and dual personality. The unconscious begins to furnish images which take on a more and more definite personality and which derive their importance, not from the achievement of the individual, but from their connection with the images of the collective unconscious. These originate as vague phantasy products that are, in their mere perception, no personal achievement and take on value only when their perception is related to the understanding of life. The child of abundant imaginative power is far richer than the child of meager imagination, provided this gift is used constructively and not as a substitute of individual achievement. Where these images are used to build up the figure of another self, one which is not to be judged by the standards of reality nor to be subjected to the same

demands which life makes upon others, we have the beginnings of dual personality. In a potential form this is the attitude of the dementia præcox patient.

This child who so ruled the puppets of her unreal world was starting a power attitude toward life which would make it difficult for her to submit to the ordinary and proper demands of human relations. Especially would this be true of the man and woman relation for she would expect the same acquiescence from other men which her father had shown. In addition to this it is impossible for any one to fail in his normal environment without becoming conscious of the failure. This rouses either feelings of inferiority, or else bitter resentments toward those who would impose the accepted standards. In either case a retreat is made to the phantasy self and the difficulties of accepting reality are increased.

With other children we may notice a very different temperamental trend in the imaginary playmate or the phantasy life. One child is always mother and she has a host of imaginary children whom she loves and cares for or rules and disciplines, in accordance with her temperament. One gentle, loving child always had all her imaginary playmates in the form of twins so that she could lend one to any member of the family who might be going away or who might have to stay at home alone. Visually the twins were babies so that the one loaned could easily be packed in a suitcase.

The way in which the child reacts to the character created indicates his own trends.

Two boys have as imaginary playmates quite similar characters each known as the "General," but one boy is always in the general's service, he fetches and carries and

takes orders; in real life he is always allying himself to some more dominating boy and acting as "fag." The other boy plainly regards the "General" as a personification of himself. He boasts about his deeds. This general is second only to the president, indeed the president would hesitate to question his authority. This second boy when playing with others wishes to organize an army and be general himself. The former looks for a leader to whom he can ally himself.

Another boy recognized in himself possibilities of cowardice. His imaginary companions were "The Three Kings" who lived back of the radiator. He would hear them arguing and chuckling together. They were served by the white-clad hosts of steam. You had only to turn the valve of the radiator and these servants rushed forth. He thought of them as spirits of great power. By and by they seemed to him like powers that one could set free for one's self. Turning the valve became a mere symbolic gesture signifying the calling on unknown powers. If he felt afraid he would slyly stoop and turn an imaginary valve and then feel that he had obtained the courage of these mysterious servants. These were beings of his own imagination yet they remind us of the genii of old who appeared in a cloud of vapor. These genii, however, were not asked to take over the task but only to set loose the courage of the young hero.

Another child beset by fears, but having withal an underlying courage, deliberately took her figure of fear as a companion till she conquered its terrors. She saw the face first on a movie screen, then in a dream. She woke from her dream screaming and her mother took her into bed, comforted her and told her to forget about it,

but she did not ask what "it" was. The child afterward said, "I think if I could have talked it out then I might have been able to bring my fears out into the light but I did try not to think of it." The result was that this figure seemed always with her and she began to be more and more afraid.

Then she did for herself what she might have done with her mother. She deliberately let this figure go with her. She walked into the dark places where she believed it was and faced it. She let it walk with her on the street, she deliberately took it as her companion until she found that not only had it lost its terrifying power but that also her unreasoned fears of dark places and of being alone were dropping from her. This shows an intuitive knowledge rare in so young a child for we can conquer nothing till we admit its existence. Since this figure symbolized her own fear of the unknown she had to accept it in order to dispel it. It became for her the personification of her own cowardice. She emerged stronger for the experience, yet we would hesitate to subject a child to such a test for the result is often an increase of fear. It is wiser in such cases not to tell a child to go to sleep and forget, but to tell her to remember and talk it all out.

Very many of these imaginary companions are called into being by loneliness. A little girl whose father was dead and who had also to face poverty, found comfort in an imaginary father. He helped her to keep her sense of proportion. When she was unhappy about her shabby clothes he was proud of her for not minding and for so helping the family problem. He discussed with her the things that were worth while, he went out with her when she felt lonely. At times he did special little acts. When

all the other children had ice cream and she had no pennies with which to buy any he bought it for her. The "ice cream" was a bit of ice dropped from the ice wagon but she could taste the flavor and find comfort in the thoughtfulness of her father.

Another child, whose mother and father were consumed by professional engagements, filled her lonely hours with phantasies which were laughed at by a prosaic governess and a highly practical family of brothers and sisters. She had a "real" sister who understood. To the rest of the world this "real" sister was the only one who had no existence but to her she was the only one who could claim true existence.

Such instances are so numerous that there is no need to multiply examples, but in every case the temperament and attitude of the child is shown in the use which is made of this unconscious material. How different is the "father" in the case above from the one quoted on page 362 where the phantasy figure was used to excuse and condone all the failures and the unwillingness to face her duties.

Sometimes these figures from the unconscious interpose so strangely and mercifully that whatever our scientific theories or our rationalistic scruples may be, we can only stand aside and watch the workings of a power greater than our own. The following instance, an example which amounts to hallucination and which would fill us with fear for the child's sanity, worked itself out when it had fulfilled its purpose of carrying the child past the first storm grief too great to be endured. When the child had been lovingly brought back into contacts with normal life the hallucination faded away. Little Joan

is now attending school and living in a very usual life for a loving "mother" type of girl. This hallucination is an example of the same process which takes place when life becomes too difficult and a neurosis is developed in order to furnish an excuse for the nonacceptance of reality. Here the dream which so vividly portrayed the child's deepest wish was used by the unconscious to give a sense of reality to the compensatory phantasy which at that time was necessary to help the child through her period of adjustment. That the phantasy did not persist until it destroyed reality is due to the love by which she was surrounded and the sympathy with which she was led to form new relations.

I am here using the exact version given me by a reliable witness.

Joan's Mother and Father both died when she was but five years old, leaving a little sister also, Betty, just two months old.

There were no relatives to take these poor unfortunate little tots, save an aged Grandmother, who evidently agreed to take Joan to live with her. She feared that she was too old to have the care of a baby so young, so it was decided that some wealthy friends of the family should have their wish to legally adopt little Betty.

During these two short months, Joan had become very much attached to her baby sister, mothering her in the sweetest, old-fashioned manner imaginable, and when she was told that Betty was going to leave her to live with a very kind lady who had promised to take great care of her, her little heart was broken, so much so, that when the new Mother came to take the baby to her new home, Joan fretted so that her Grandmother was afraid she would grow sick.

Some months later I visited Joan. I noticed immediately after talking with her but a few moments, that the child was undoubtedly in much higher spirits than at any other time that I had visited her since her parents' death. After supper was over, Joan climbed on to my lap, and at the same time whispered in my ear, that she had something to show me if I would come upstairs.

She led me to the nursery, and upon entering very cautiously closed the door behind us.

"Sh!" she murmured, "I have Betty 'hided' away in here." I watched with breathless amazement as she stealthily tiptoed across the room, opened the door of her little writing desk, drew forth a tiny key, and proceeded with great care to unlock the door of her doll's house. Lying in a bed on the top story of this luxurious house was an old ragged doll which she took from its resting place, tenderly and affectionately, hugging it tightly to her little bosom—fearful she seemed lest I might betray her secret, and snatch it from her then and there. "When Mamma and Daddy went to Heaven to live" she said, rocking her little burden to and fro, " a rich lady took Betty away to live with her, but I was very lonely without her, and I cried every day for her to come back to me. I prayed so hard to Jesus that at last He did send her back. Where do you suppose I found her?" she queried.

I somehow managed to assure her that I did not know, and waited for the revelation:

"While I was out walking with Granny one day not so very long ago, and it was when we were just turning in the gate coming home again, that I found her lying there on the ground so cold and hungry. At first Granny did not want me to pick her up, but I begged so hard to be allowed to bring her in 'cos she looked so miserable, so Granny said she would take her and bathe her first, then I could have her for keeps."

"I did not know it was Betty at first" she went on—"but that night Granny dressed her in some of my baby clothes, and let

me have her in my bed to sleep with me. It was while I was sleeping very fast that Betty woke me up and said, 'I am your little sister come back to live with you. I ran away from my new Mamma because I wanted you to play with me, and you were lonely and wanted me too, so I came; but you must not tell them that I am here 'cos they love me very much, and will want me to go back to them again, only I would much rather stay with you.'

"That's why I keep her 'hided' away in here" confided Joan. "All day long she stays in this house. Granny lets me have my lunch up here with her every day. We eat at that little table over there." She pointed to a small nursery table in the far corner of the room. "At night she sleeps in my bed with me. I put her way down the bed so that no one can see her, and then I can go to sleep without being afraid."

I was a little horrified at the extent of this child's pathetic imagination, but could account for it in many different ways, as I had known Joan since the day she was born to be a child of the strangest fancies—but this particular phantasy touched me deeply. I was convinced that the child had had a dream, where she referred to Betty talking to her while she was asleep. I spoke to Joan's Grandmother about it later on in the evening, after Joan was safely tucked in bed.

She told me, with tears running down her wan cheeks, that it grieved her beyond words to see her little grandchild acting so strangely, but at the same time this strange hallucination had pulled Joan out of an extreme melancholy mood, which she fell into after parting with her baby sister, and from which the doctors themselves could do nothing to arouse her—they feared at times that this dejection would prove fatal to her. Even though she could scarcely bear to see the child indulging in this mental image, it was doing what some of the men high up in the medical world had failed to do. It was only a weird fancy it is true, but this queer make-believe had done much—if not all in saving a little child's life in this instance.

This is a most unusual instance, yet I have known of other cases where the phantasies became forms of hallucination. They vanished when they had fulfilled their purpose and apparently left no harmful result.

The imaginary playmate is really a very normal form of companion for a child whose subjective world has a living reality. Most of the children quoted in this chapter were entirely normal, but from an analysis of these phantasy selves certain phenomena appear which should be of help in the interpretation of the difficulties of the individual child who reveals the phantasy and also in the understanding of the mental processes which underlie such manifestations.

The following deductions are merely suggestive. They are not advanced as dogmatic conclusions but are offered for criticism, or for refutation if further evidence seems to point to a different interpretation. This pathway is so new that we cannot hold back till we are certain that we have conclusive proof of our way. We must be willing to follow what seems to us to be a "blaze" on the trail, and if the next explorer finds a better path be glad to see our own disregarded.

What, then, seems to be the connection between the playmate and the child's psychological processes, and how does it help in his development?

The attainment of an individuality is a long and painful process, one which is not actually achieved by many so-called adults. It is certainly not the possession of the child. He is, as we have said before, a mass of potentials. Certain ego trends may make themselves manifest with such intensity that he may be carelessly spoken of as "having a marked individuality," but these trends may

be merely indications of true character traits or they may be only protests against some difficulty of adaptation. A little child is confronted by many worlds, each of which demands to be met by a different self; and the child, with a sort of psychic protective coloring, assumes these various selves for purposes of adaptation.

We all know how true it is that, "With X, Billy is a different boy." He may be a quiet and well-mannered little gentleman with grandmother and the cooky box in the offing, or with an adult assembly; he may be a good sport or perhaps a rebellious but obedient little slave with his father, depending on the relationship which they have together. Again there is the Billy with his mother, a less grown-up Billy, and there are all the Billys in school, the Billy in the classroom, the Billy at recess with the other boys or the younger boys, or still another Billy with the little girls. Billy, Billy everywhere, yet where is Billy? Then there is a whole regiment of Billys whom we glimpse but rarely. These Billys live deep down inside the Billy that we know. They are called into being by inner images, half-understood thoughts, phantasies built on bits of overheard conversations, fairy, hero, or horror stories, or perhaps they owe their being to deeper springs of consciousness, they may be awakened by dream images confused with reality or daydream images arising apparently from nowhere at all. So we have "Billy," a sturdy, short-trousered familiar figure, who is really a composite photograph of a shadowy possible Billy not yet really come to birth. Out of this company of potential Billys we must help the real Billy to find himself: to integrate what is valuable in these many personalities and to eliminate what is valueless or harmful.

This process is frequently helped by the appearance of the imaginary playmate; especially if the child is original and creative, or deeply subjective. This playmate may be used in many ways. In one form it is the greatly-to-be-desired self, the hero or the lovely princess, the ideal, unselfish, much-loved being, or the very beautiful and rich personality. Perhaps it may be another child who has various qualities that are greatly admired. These may arise as naturally as the fairy story, enjoyed and forgotten yet serving a purpose in development, or they may be used as compensation.

If there is a failure to meet the demands of life, or if there is a poverty caused by loneliness or misunderstanding these unconscious products take on a deeper reality. If the conscious self does not afford sufficient outlet for certain manifestations of the developing personality these manifestations are apt to break through in the unconscious material of phantasy. We all have, at times, thoughts tumultuous, undirected, which we would not wish to embody in word or act and then accept as the real children of our brain. Many adults have day-dreams to which they return in times of discouragement or fatigue, and in these dreams a favorite character acts out parts which they would repudiate if compelled to face them as elements in their own psychology. They are really trends of the unconscious which we do not wish to claim as ours and which take on an appearance of independent personality.

In this way a child who is oversubmissive almost to the point of masochism will act out, in the assumed personality, things which his own conscious would not permit him to claim. He may choose this side in his play with

other children or he may make for himself as a phantasy playmate an aggressive companion to whom he submits even in phantasies of physical submission. In identifying with this companion he can compensate for the feelings of inferiority which his own lack of self-assertion forces upon him.

On the other hand his phantasies may make him assume the rôle of ruler. His imaginary companion will then always be one whom he can always command, so giving his overassertive ego a chance of living in the power side.

Children's play furnishes us with many character clues if we are able to understand them. Here is a little girl who always wants the part of mother. Has she a special attitude which she always assumes in this rôle? Is this rôle a repetition of the maternal pattern, or does it show individual character traits? In one such instance a woman who was unable to make any relations with a man which did not end in disaster recalled, in the course of her analysis, her own child's play. She had habitually beaten her dolls or caused them to suffer some injury so that she "might take them to her bosom and comfort them." So, very early in her life, power and the desire to dominate had masked behind the "compassionate mother" symbol. This later manifested itself in stormy emotional acts having a hidden vein of cruelty. These outbursts were followed by a passionate desire to compensate by overintense love and compassion, or an impulse to enter into relationships where she was the ministering mother. She was not able to accept a man on terms of adult equality. She felt herself pursued by fate in her unhappy choices, but her fate was dictated by that inner force that had showed itself in her tempestuous and

emotional doll play. She was, indeed, pursued by fate, but it was a fate that rose up from the blind forces of the unconscious.

If we can understand the ways in which the unconscious of the child makes use of this imaginary companion we are greatly helped in our task of guiding him in the integration of these forces. In the case of the ideal companion we find two uses. When it is accepted as a pattern it is used positively as was Anna, the twin. Here the child works out certain problems and draws up into his own personality the desired traits. When used as an escape it furnishes a basis for neurotic withdrawal. The dream is substituted for reality and the ego assumes less and less responsibility.

There is also the playmate who represents the less desirable side of the personality. Upon this companion are projected things which are not to be accepted by the developing ego. He is a sort of psychological whipping-boy who is to be held responsible for things for which the prince cannot be held to account. Where he is used to project and eliminate the undesirable he is most valuable. For example, a child who was given to bombastic lying and to finger-sucking and other regressive habits invented a figure, Mr. Montague. Mr. Montague was permitted any form of boasting, he was a worthy rival of Baron Munchausen. But as the leeway permitted Mr. Montague became greater and greater, the exactness required of Bobby became stricter and stricter. When the affair in debate was not very serious it sometimes became a nice question as to whether the tale must be claimed by Mr. Montague or could be accepted by Bobby. Through Mr. Montague a clearer sense of values was

realized and Bobby sloughed off certain things that should be lived out through the projected personality. Incidentally I would mention that the regressive symptoms vanished of themselves as Bobby himself became more grown up in his attitude.

On the other hand the undesirable companion may also be used in order to escape responsibility. It may furnish a retreat to the pleasure of unadmitted phantasy, or in assuming that character the small actor may permit himself to do things not accepted by his conscious personality and yet hold himself blameless. It is this attitude which is developed in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, a projection of the undesirable, not in order to be rid of it but so as to be able to live in it and escape responsibility. But Mr. Hyde, as he increases in power, insists upon recognition and in the final mastery the bewildered other self finds himself caught. This is the dramatization of a pathological situation, but it is this same process which we find at work in child's play and consider unimportant. The following is the simplest possible case, yet shows Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in their early infancy.

Small Johnnie had a playmate named Sam Slimmer. It was Sam Slimmer who always got into mischief. Johnnie soon discovered the advantages of Sam. Things could be done and then disclaimed. Sam Slimmer would suddenly go away and the good Johnnie would reappear. The good Johnnie was always innocent. Mother was always willing to receive the good Johnnie at once and obviously the good Johnnie was not to be held responsible. But Sam Slimmer began to appear oftener and oftener. At last father took a hand announcing that whenever Sam had been about the first business of the

evening was with him and he would be unable to talk to Johnnie until accounts had been settled with Sam. At first Johnnie was indignant but father was adamant. Sam must be found and his account settled before he could see Johnnie. Sam was produced and the account settled. Though the method of settlement may not be in accordance with our views, the application of the principle involved assisted greatly in the integration of Johnnie.

I have purposely closed with these childish and apparently trivial cases so as to show that the same laws hold good in these early beginnings and in the pathological cases of dual personality.

CHAPTER VIII

FEAR

One day long years ago, when on my way home from school, I was attracted by the furious barking of a very large dog. Coming nearer I saw behind the open grating of an area window a very small, very starved kitten. With arched back and bristling tail, she was spitting and growling in the most ferocious and bombastic manner. So bloodthirsty was she that it seemed hard to believe that anything but the grating prevented her from tearing the dog limb from limb, even though she was almost too weak to stand. Indignantly I drove off the dog and rescued the kitten, hugging her to me in a burst of protective tenderness: and for this tenderness I received a deep scratch on my face. I can feel yet the surprise of that painful scratch and the ensuing rush of anger; but I can also feel the trembling of that terrified little bit of fur in my arms and the wild beating of that little heart. A most monstrous kitten and most inexcusable! Surely she should have purred her thanks and showed her gratitude. A kitten who could thus reward kindness undoubtedly deserved to be returned to the dog. Yet even I, a small child, could understand the terror that prompted that furious scratch. Somehow I got the tiny thing home and devoted myself to the soothing of that wild, fear-possessed, little being. It was a long task and for days I could not touch her, but in the end a soft,

round, purring bit of contentment sang with joy whenever she was picked up.

A few months afterward she was amusing herself with a grasshopper when a large bull terrier got into the yard and headed straight for her. The kitten, now a self-possessed young lady cat, arched her back but did not move an inch. As the dog came nearer she lifted one paw and gave him a lightning dab on the nose. Howling he fled and the kitten settled back at peace. This time when I picked her up she began her purring song. No longer did she view life from the insecurity of the half-starved, terrified street waif, but from the security of a happy home where her own position was assured. Why bother to be either terrified or angry at a mere dog?

A few years ago I was consulted in regard to "a very naughty and unmanageable small boy." He was "a liar and a boaster and a fighter," always looking for trouble and subject to rages when he would strike out at people, or attack some other child, or perhaps break some valuable article. In school he was undependable both in work and in conduct. He seemed to be bright enough when he exerted himself, but he never kept his mind on anything, and was always doing some silly thing in the middle of his recitation or scrawling absurd pictures over half-finished work. In the playground he was always a storm-center.

From the moment he entered my room his attitude was one of boastful defiance. When questioned about school he began to tell how "he could fight them all." He would "show 'em if they didn't look out." When I asked him a few ordinary questions he answered the first fairly well, the second at random, and at the third broke

off and began telling me how he was going to kill tigers and people—lots of people. He did not come near me, and when I tried to come too near him he became more boastful and defiant. His movements were badly coördinated and he had various nervous habits. There seemed, beyond the very evident instability, a deep-seated sense of insecurity. Questions as to teachers, schools, and boys brought the same form of answers: "he'd show 'em." Here was another little creature with his back to the wall. Might not some great form of fear and sense of insecurity underly his "spitting and scratching"?

When he burst forth into another tirade as to what he would do I said with much interest, "That is a good story. Do you make them up often? That makes me think of Jack the Giant Killer. That's a fine old story. Would you like to have me tell you that one some day?

He looked at me cautiously to see if I was making fun of him, but seeing no trace of ridicule, he permitted himself to become interested, and on the basis of the tale we made our first connection. Then he told another bombastic incident, this time with the deed attached to an admittedly imaginary character. The little device served several purposes. It attracted his attention, and drew his interest away from his suspicions to something outside of himself; it changed his attitude from the defensive to one of coöperation; it momentarily disentangled him from the false personality; and it gave me a chance to make at least fleeting contact with the real child, the child behind the mask. This contact was all that I could hope to obtain in the first interview. But through this contact, where something which was presented as an

aggressive defiance was received as a positive value, a new element entered into the relationship.

Space does not permit me to take up this case in detail, but the facts as they came to light bore out the first diagnosis. It was a case of defense reaction produced by fear, and that fear was based upon a sense of insecurity in relationships and upon feelings of inferiority.

At birth he had been injured. One side did not develop as strongly as the other. He walked awkwardly and one foot turned in with a shuffling movement. This physical difficulty had been given proper medical attention. Yet as the physical defects were decreasing the psychological symptoms were increasing. It had therefore been inferred that they could not have any special bearing on each other. But as psychological elements the physical influences had been growing because life was making new demands. As a baby he had found these defects to be assets because they had brought added care and attention, especially from his mother, and so had lessened the demands of life; but with the coming of school age they became liabilities. Outside the home they provoked ridicule and gave him a feeling of being inadequate to life's demands.

With some persons the fear of ridicule is even greater than the fear of physical injury, for ridicule attacks our feeling of equality in relationships and robs us of our personal dignity and competence. Well-directed ridicule leaves its victim defenceless, and the fear of it is instinctive. He could not control the physical defect that made him laughed at, so he took the natural course of trying to capitalize it, hoping in that way to escape ridicule. He pretended that he could control it if he wished,

he exaggerated it; he rolled, he swaggered, he strutted. Thereby he succeeded in producing an impression, but not the one he desired. He only increased the jeering ridicule of the children, and also lost the sympathy of the elders who said he was naughty and obstinate and did not try.

Lessons brought new difficulties. He was supposed to be bright because of a certain form of glibness and a trick of memory which is often mistaken for real mental ability. He was really somewhat below the average in intelligence, but because of preconceived ideas he was expected to do work which was really too hard for him. He was afraid to say he could not. Up to now his good rote memory and ready tongue had served to cover his lack of thinking, his instability of attention, and inability to grasp subject matter. In this new world more was required. He began to "play silly" and to spoil his work before it could be discovered that he was unable to do it.

When all these attempts to turn aside ridicule failed, he took refuge in boasting and fighting lest he should show his growing fear. Like the kitten he tried to scratch first. Fear produces panic and emotional unbalance, and opens the gates to floods of anger; so blind emotional storms began and he was caught in a whirl of fear and rage.

Just at this time, when he needed more than ever his sense of fundamental security, that too was taken from him. A cousin about three years older came to live in the same city in a near-by apartment. This boy was vigorous, intelligent, and attractive, and had a great fund of intellectual curiosity. He made a quick connection with our small boy's father because of his keen intelligent

interests; and the father, consciously thinking to stimulate his own boy, took the nephew on all their little excursions. Soon our little fellow found himself bodily present but otherwise quite left out. He fell back on the refuge of trying to win attention by naughtiness, but he received only punishment.

The most dangerous element of this punishment was that it had in it an unrecognized bitterness. Deep down in the father's unconscious, pride was greater than love. He had always expected to be proud of the child. When disappointed in his physical qualities he had cherished a phantasy that his son would be brilliant. Now he felt thwarted in his ambition and the boy irritated him to an irrational degree. It was very evident, when one penetrated the child's dream and phantasy life, that the boy intuited this in his father and had, in addition to a form of hero worship, a great fear of him. Many of these fears he projected upon God. He was intensely interested in the Old Testament so his mother told me with pride. His interest proved to center in the stories of a vengeful God, who was shadowed in the figures of his terror dreams, of which he had many.

So far as actual punishment was concerned the father had been very careful and controlled. On one occasion a mild punishment had been given because of a burst of temper. The boy flew into a panic of rage and bit the father's hand. He was thereupon whipped in anger. This produced such tempestuous resentment that such punishment was not repeated. It was evident, though, that the father was continually exercising self-control to conceal irritation, not simply at what the boy did or did not do, but at what he actually was. He would not ac-

cept the fact of the boy's innate limitations because he was, in all the undercurrents of his being, determined to have a child who would be a credit to him. After the boy began talking freely to me he frequently had storms of rage against his father; and once in trying to recall a terror dream he remarked quite casually, "My father does not like me much." It seemed to be *his spontaneous association* with the night terror whose form he could not recall.

These night terrors were frequent and were increased by the fact that the little cousin, with a boy's innate cruelty and love of power, had fed his fears with gruesome tales. His dreams, his phantasies, and his bombastic stories were all a mixture of these terror imaginings.

Fear, then, was the basis of all these rages and defiant acts. He was terribly afraid of the psychological situation in which he found himself involved. To him ridicule was more to be feared than physical pain. He was constantly being ridiculed, both at school and by the little cousin who was held up to him as a model. His violent hatred was centered upon this boy to whom his father's companionship was given—a companionship which his own child so craved. He could bear a good deal of physical pain (as was shown at one time when he allowed his mother to dig a splinter out of a festering finger) but the slightest touch given as punishment or in taunting play reduced him to rage and gave him the name of being a coward. The only place where he could still keep any sense of power was with his mother. He used his rages to rule her.

Fear and the sense of insecurity had been found to be the basis of the trouble. How should such a situation

be met? The child must be accepted as he really was. The father must recognize the selfish elements of his paternal pride and become reconciled to all the child's handicaps, both physical and mental. The mother must recognize that, in spite of these handicaps, he could not remain her baby and be constantly shielded. The school must recognize that here was a child needing special care and understanding. The child must recognize that the boasting, bombastic, raging self was only an effigy put between himself and the world and that the real little boy had some real tasks which he must and could face.

During the hours when he came for psychological treatment he was encouraged to turn his boastings into legitimate story material. In so doing he separated himself from the hero of his tales and was able to laugh at the adventures of the one who had once been his phantasy self.

He was kept out of school for a few days and went on several little excursions alone with his father. This not only served to strengthen the relationship but gave an opportunity to enlist the sympathy of the children of his class. Children are fairly quick to adopt a new attitude and to consider illness as a legitimate handicap when a teacher presents the situation to them fairly and simply. Such consideration helped put an end to the ridicule.

When he returned to school he was not expected to complete tasks beyond his power, but was given shorter tasks which he could accomplish without great effort. His imagination was used in story and dramatic work. He was put in a small play class with rather young children. His mother was instructed to put him alone in a room when he had his rages. The first time he was

shut up alone he threw a block through the window. He was required to pay for it out of some money which he had saved and he decided that this was not worth while.

Slowly he began to make his new adjustments, and his fears decreased as he found himself adequate to the new demands of life. The coöperation of both parents upon a quieter, firmer type of discipline did much to establish a sense of security. When one parent is overindulgent and the other oversevere, or when they alternate in the times of indulgence or severity, the child feels himself at the mercy of parental whims. This stirs in the unconscious all those instinctive fears which arise when we feel ourselves at the mercy of blind chance. To the adventurous child instability of discipline rouses the will-to-power and the desire for conflict, but to the child who is naturally fearful it but adds to life's insecurities and therefore to life's fears.

How strong this feeling is even in small children was vividly illustrated by an intensely intuitive seven-year-old girl. She had been taken from the children's court, where she had been brought because her mother, a prostitute, had subjected her to the hazards of her own uncertainties both of life and temperament. After a few months in her new home she was asked one day, "What do you like best at school?"

"Oh!" she cried, "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end, Amen. I never knew that there was anything that was in the beginning and always would be. It makes you feel so nice and safe."

I shall speak later of some other cases where the sense of instability in the parental attitudes creates an under-

lying fear which tinges all the relations of life. Such insecurity is frequently found to exist where children are unaccountably timid. If a background of stability is lacking at the time when children have a right to its support, they are apt to go through life looking for a deadening sort of permanence on which they may rest in childish dependence.

In reviewing the case of the boy above, several things stand out quite clearly as causes for this child's fear, fear of ridicule, fear of the uncontrolled emotion of the person holding the power over the situation, a sense of inferiority, and that sense of insecurity of relationship which underlay all these other fears.

It is difficult for us to realize how deeply rooted and instinctive is the fear of ridicule. Dr. Paul Radin has stated that among many primitive people the fear is so great that a man who has been thus humiliated before the men of his own tribe may quite possibly commit suicide by wandering off alone into the night darkness of the jungle where he is almost certain to fall prey to wild beasts or human enemies. Every lawyer knows the value of discrediting his enemy by ridicule, and understands how helpless the opponent then becomes. Perhaps there are few of us who at some time have not known terrified anger roused by finding ourselves the butt of well-directed ridicule. The background of this fear, reaching all the way to primitive ancestry, links it with all the blind forces of the collective unconscious and makes us feel as though we were in the clutches of some great unknown terror.

There are many children who, like primitives, have less fear of physical pain than of ridicule because the pain

does not leave them so defenseless. We are in no way surprised when we hear of nervous terrors which are the result of some brutal physical punishment, but are quite incredulous of the possibility that any permanent injury may result from ridicule. A child who receives brutal physical treatment may be taken from his parents. The child humiliated by ridicule is left to the mercy of his tormentors. Back of ridicule usually lies a desire for power, and the element of cruelty contained therein is often quite unappreciated by the one who makes use of it. The child feels the danger of this unconscious cruelty and fears also the potentials for injury that lie in these veiled instincts.

There is another form of ridicule which is often employed by adults who have kind yet blundering intentions. This is the ridicule, not of the child himself, but of his fears. In this case there is no cruelty nor desire for power peering from behind the act; yet it may have disastrous results. To laugh at another's fear does not decrease its power but it does decrease the individual's confidence in himself. It makes him feel less power over the situation and so adds to the menace of the fear. It is as though we stripped the armor off the fighter instead of drawing the fangs of the beast that is attacking him. Often in their well-meant efforts to make a child brave, older people will say, "Why you couldn't possibly be afraid of *that!*" The child *is* afraid, however, with a fear that is perfectly unintelligible to himself, and continues to be afraid in spite of heroic efforts to the contrary. The result of this treatment, therefore, is to make him feel different, inadequate, and ashamed to tell his fears in the future. If we are afraid of something that no

one else is afraid of we thereby proclaim ourselves to be less brave. We are separated from the company of others not only by the menace of our fear but also by our inferiority in the matter of courage. A child so convicted shuts his humiliated self away with his fear. It may be stated as a formula that as the sense of competence decreases the power of the fear increases.

We must recognize that the reality of another's fear is not to be estimated by our own attitude toward the object of the fear, but by the attitude of the person who fears. It is the fear, not the object, which is the reality. We must therefore accept the reality of the fear before we can deal with it properly.

A patient who was haunted at every turn by fears and feelings of inferiority described this very clearly in speaking of an experience of her childhood. She had suddenly been seized by a terrible fear of a funeral procession. If they came upon one in their walks she would run blindly. Her nurse and the adults of the family assured her that there was nothing to be afraid of, that funerals did not touch people, and never came up on the sidewalk. She need not run because nothing would follow her. It was silly to be afraid. "They used to make me feel like a fool," she said, "but they did not touch my fear. By and by I learned to walk past the processions quietly, but I would lie awake at night and tremble at the pictures that they called up." These pictures were of vague forms symbolic of death and of gigantic figures whose meanings she could not comprehend.

As a matter of fact this child was more sensitive to the mysteries of the death symbols and to other spiritual symbols than were the adults surrounding her. Death

is one of those dark and mysterious forces that has always stood at the background of man's consciousness. It is the urge forever at war with the urge toward living. It is not only the fear of actual physical death but of the regressive element in ourselves. Fortunately the urge toward life, the absorption in the present business of living is so keen, especially in the young, that these fears rarely break through. Where a child is sensitive to all these inner realities we do not decrease the fear by dwelling on its folly. We only make the child feel different and queer since no one else understands. This child had no fear of being run over or physically injured by the funeral carriages but the sight of them lifted the veil that ordinarily hangs between our lighted world and the world of shadows. Since these images are so tremendous, yet so intangible, we cannot analyze the actual fear, the fear of the death element, but by our attitude of sympathetic understanding of these fears, we can give the child a sense of *security* in our companionship. In that companionship we can convey our own acceptance of life, and of death, and build up the positive values to meet those fears. In such cases the elements are too intangible to be reduced to words. The child in a measure substitutes the security of the sympathetic relationship for the unknown fear. Sometimes these death fears are found to be a fear of being put in the ground and this can be met by the actual discussion, in telling of the body as a discarded covering, but the fear usually lies too deep for that. To meet these deepest fears we must have found our own attitude toward death.

One of the more common fears of childhood is the fear of the dark. Though we, in our adult superiority, make

fun of this fear we only show our ignorance, for this, like the law of death, is also deep rooted in the unconscious of mankind. It is not so many generations since the darkness was a very real menace. In the jungle one could not venture beyond the safety of the firelight. A shadow dimly sensed in the dusk might be a tiger crouching to spring; a crackling twig was in all probability the signal of the approaching enemy—human, animal, or even, to the primitive mind, demoniac—for in the darkness lurked gods and devils that must be propitiated. These impressions are stored up in the collective unconscious and produce vague but real terrors. It is, therefore, reasonable to say to a child, "I know you are afraid of the dark; lots of people have been, but that is because they lived in forests, and all sorts of beasts might be prowling round, but now we live in safe houses and it is quite different. Ever so many grown people were afraid when they were children, but they got over it when they understood and so can you." This acceptance of the fear does not separate the child from the normally brave people but links him to others who have also felt this fear and have conquered. He feels the fear is legitimate, but that he can gain power over it, and in so doing his courage grows.

Here again is a place where we must admit the thing as it really is before we can change it. We are still naïve in our treatment of the thing that disturbs us. We proceed on the assumption that if we deny the upsetting thing it thereby ceases to exist. We turn our back upon the problem and feel relieved of the necessity for its solution. This has been made the basis of certain modern creeds. We find it easier to deny the existence

of evil rather than to accept the necessity for reckoning with it.

It was this same refusal to admit the disturbing thing to consciousness that led people to pooh-pooh the fears of war even when its menace was almost upon the world. Such fear admitted as a reality would upset the whole placid tenor of their lives and force upon their knowledge the existing powers of evil, poverty, anarchy, and greed. It was easier to deny that there was anything to fear.

The static attitude which desires that life shall remain as it is repudiates disturbing elements. The dynamic or evolving attitude accepts the existing thing as real, not only in its present form, but as a potential from which new forms may develop. It aims at a real understanding of the existing power that we may develop toward a greater understanding of the truth, a higher degree of consciousness. We must admit the existence of these intangible fears before we can help to conquer them. In this way we build up a sense of security which strengthens the connection with the everyday world of his own child life and gives him a feeling of mastery over his own fears. In our highly extraverted civilization we are apt to give reality value only to the tangible and material. The inner life with its spiritual symbols, its intricate psychological processes, its intangible realities, is depreciated. Therefore fears arising from inner images, no matter how compelling, are brushed aside as unreal. Our reality sense is attuned only to the world of outer fact.

Some children are keenly alive to all the undercurrents which lie behind the material world. They sense, in more or less dimly defined, yet monstrous outline, those forces

which we all fear when we permit ourselves to become aware of them. It is these fears that are most difficult to deal with in child life. The best we can do is to keep the paths always open between ourselves and the child, so that these figures of fear will not be shut away from the light of day to grow in phantasy life.

In dealing with these irrational elements of fear a solution must often be accepted that in itself seems highly irrational. For example, an intuitive child had been subject to frequent night terrors. One day after she had asked her mother certain sex questions which were answered with the utmost frankness and simplicity, she had the following dream: "I was riding to the gate on my bicycle with X (her dog). When I call him in my dreams he always sniffs first in the other three directions and then last of all sees me. But this time he saw me right away and came directly. We went down the road on the way home. As we passed the big tree a big green monkey came down out of the tree and chased me." After relating this she said, "Why is it I'm not afraid of the green monkey any more now that I have told you about him?"

The mother answered that all people had in their heads green monkeys, beasts, and people that stories were made about, only some people saw them more easily than others. To tell such a thing to any one who understood about "green monkeys" and also took part in the things one did every day (such as brushing one's hair and eating three meals etc.) made the story things and the real outside world come together. At once the child said, "I think that Miss A knows about green monkeys, but I don't think that Cousin C does."

Miss A was an intuitive with a vivid phantasy life and Cousin C one to whom the phantasy life was unreal.

After telling this dream the night terrors ceased. Here there seems to be no reason for the cessation of the night terrors, but the skillful way in which the mother handled the whole situation produced the result. She made no attempt to deal with the symbolism of the dream, to connect the green monkey with any sexual symbol. She did not lead the child back into the realm of the collective unconscious. Nor is it necessary for us to discuss the symbols here since it is the way the fear was handled which is important. In the first place, by her simple explanation of the facts of life the mother made natural the things which are often shrouded in mystery. By so doing she opened the approach for all further confidences. If she had turned aside from these other questions the child would have hidden away the dream. There would have been a sense of uneasiness when the subject reappeared in veiled dream symbols. The mother's acceptance of the dream figures made them seem as natural as the talking animals of the old fairy tales and put them in the land where they belonged in the child's imaginings.

Another child had a phantasy of birth of little babies. She would imagine blowing softly through her lips until a bubble came. This bubble was bright colored like an iridescent soap bubble. It floated about the room like a bit of rainbow and when it burst a tiny baby came out. This baby was sometimes a real baby and sometimes a fairy child. She carried this phantasy till it became a truth. It became confused with all her ideas of the real birth of children. One day she confided it and was laughed at. She carefully guarded her phantasies there-

after but she continued her phantasy. It rather gained in strength by becoming a carefully guarded secret. The actual knowledge of birth became unimportant and uninteresting. She asked no further questions for fear of ridicule.

When she was about thirteen she was kissed by an older boy and rather roughly caressed. There was some physical excitement produced and afterward a sense of guilt. This guilt was increased because the phantasies surrounded in the episode roused a desire to masturbate. Then the old phantasy returned and she became alarmed lest she should have a child. Actual knowledge and phantasy became absurdly mixed and she suffered intensely. She developed a "queer little trick" of blowing bubbles through her lips which annoyed her family greatly. She herself did not consciously connect this with the old phantasy and her continued attempts to find out if the thing was true. After a time she became reassured as to the unimportance of the episode but the whole experience had a distinctly bad effect upon her and served to separate her from reality.

The trouble here was the ignorant way in which the phantasy had been received. This phantasy is closely linked with some of the earliest myths and fairy tales. There are many old stories of impregnation through the mouth. In these old stories the woman swallows a peach pit or apple pit and a child is born. In these stories the swallowing represents taking in of the seed of life. This is followed by the birth of the hero who is greater than the ordinary mortal—the one untouched by earth. So this child dreaming of the fairy thing born of the bubble had touched an old myth and reclothed it in a robe of charm-

ing phantasy. It should have been treated tenderly, reverently, and linked with other tales which have the kindred imagination. The child dreamed more wisely than the adult. Facts should be told in their own time, in their own way, not as a contradiction of myth but as the material of the tangible world, and the phantasy should be accepted also in its own place. There is then no conflict between the two attitudes. This child was left with fear because her phantasy was not sympathetically received. Had it been treated as was the "green monkey," she would have been spared much later suffering.

There is also a child born of the breath. It is the creation of the poet and the story teller. It is the thought made manifest. We could follow this symbol on through the exquisite old symbolism of the Word made flesh, of the birth of the spirit from the breath of life.

When we so examine these phantasies we become ashamed of our easy laughter and gain a reverence for the childish intuition that is in touch with these symbolic things.

A somewhat similar, but more comprehensive phantasy was told me by a physician. His patient said that, as a child, she and her sister had invented a game called "making." In this game they blew bubbles from their mouths and then told what came out of them. In this case all sorts of desired things were born of bubbles.

Frequently when children have been afraid of things under the bed or of gigantic figures of nightmare that they feel are still there when they awake, much can be done by explaining them as self-made fairy tales and as the people whom story-tellers often see. Having recourse

to that old ineffective reiteration that there is nothing there and it is silly to be afraid, only exaggerates the trouble. To a person factually minded one must either deny that these images exist or else accept them as material facts. To those persons such fears are "silly."

One cannot generalize in these cases. The thing that we must continually bear in mind is that each child is unique. We must not assume that because we have found the cause of the fear of the dark in one child we can fit our findings to the next case that comes our way. In some children fear of the dark arises from images from the unconscious which must be met as this mother met "the green monkey." In another case in which fear symptoms seemed to have to do with these images a similar treatment had no effect. The case was baffling till it was found that the mother had a fear which she was unwilling to face. The child in question was very closely identified with the mother and took over this fear in his unconscious. Here the whole work had to be done in clearing up the mother's fear. Then the fears of the child mysteriously vanished.

In another case a potentially imaginative child was brought up in an atmosphere of unadulterated facts. He had never been told a fairy tale nor fed on such deceptions as Santa Claus. Nevertheless the darkness held unimaginable terrors. This child was given large doses of fairy-tale phantasy, and whimsical child poetry, until the dark became peopled with fascination and the terrors ceased. Dr. Edith Wharton told me of a similar case where in addition to the terrors the child masturbated badly. When the imagination was properly directed, instead of starved, the masturbation also disap-

peared with the terror. It had been used to stimulate phantasy and now was no longer needed.

Sometimes, through the workings of his own unconscious, the child continues these fears and makes use of them because they serve a very definite, though not understood purpose. A child with an overstrong mother attachment wakens in the dark, terrified perhaps by some strange noise, or by a dream image. His frightened cry brings the mother with comforting assurances of safety and love. He is perhaps jealous of the father who can remain downstairs with mother after he has been sent to bed, or who shares her sleeping room. Now by means of this terror he can control the mother. He has only to cry out and she is there. He does not reason this through, consciously intending to make use of these fears. Indeed he may feel rather ashamed of them, or he may make an effort not to be selfish and "bring poor mother upstairs," yet again he wakes in the darkness and finds some intense emotion clutches him. The conscious willing part of him decides not to be afraid, but only a small part of him is will-directed self. The rest is in that hinterland of the unconscious where vague but compelling emotional figures move.

It may seem strange to say that the child does not know what emotion is controlling him, but we do not always know ourselves. The desire for the mother rising up in the child seizes upon the fear and pushes it up into consciousness. Perhaps the child at first plays with the fear, almost enjoying it, but then the fear begins to play with him until, like a dark wave, it sweeps over him and panic begins. He calls out. Like the man who loosed the bottle imp and then found that the genie grew

to monstrous proportions and could not be returned to captivity, we loose these emotional demons and find that we cannot thrust them back where they belong. In such a case the work must be done through a better adaptation. Perhaps the relationship with the father can be strengthened, and a more adult attitude be formed, perhaps the child can be taught to see his own unconscious motives and so his own conscious will be able to take control. With each child the procedure must vary.

In other cases where there is, in the mother's unconscious, a resentment toward the child because he interferes with her life and curtails her freedom, the child senses this and may use his fears to keep her near him. In one such case the mother resented the coming of the child because it interfered with her career. As he grew older any suggestion of sending him away filled him with terror and started nightmares. It is illuminating to see that the terror roused is often in proportion to the real insecurity which is sensed by the unconscious.

Sometimes when the fear is of a very real subjective danger, a fear of great forces within ourselves, we interpose some absurd little objective fear between ourselves and this force that we are afraid to face. It may be easier to make this plain through the analysis of an adult who has fallen victim to these same forces, because with the adult we can follow a more consecutive dream analysis and through free association trace the action of the unconscious.

A young woman was sent me by a physician because she was in a continuous state of terror. This made her unable to carry on her ordinary daily work, or to sleep at night without attacks of almost hysterical fear. She

suffered also from pain in the head and loss of muscular control. At first she wished to talk of the importance of the physical symptoms and of the loss of sleep because of dreams which she "could not remember." When we had talked a little of fear and she felt reasonably sure that my attitude would be one of sympathy, she told me that her real trouble was "just such a silly notion as made her believe she was going crazy."

Each day on her way to work she had to pass a little church. One hot day she went inside to rest in the cool and quiet. Just inside the doorway were two stone effigies. As she stepped into the dim light her eyes rested upon these two figures and suddenly she felt weak and cold. "I couldn't move or go out or in," she said. "Then as I looked it seemed as though they moved, just ever so little, but I was all a-tremble. I couldn't even have screamed. Then I knew I was silly and by and by I got past them, but I was all perspiration and trembly. I stayed as long as I dared, but I had to get to work and by and by I got out again. I could hardly get between them. When I got out the sun seemed so bright it frightened me and I wanted to hide somewhere, and the noise frightened me too."

These figures now haunted both her waking and her sleeping hours. She could not bear to pass the church where she knew they lay. In her fear she left the village where she was employed and came home to look for work. She besought me to assure her that she was afraid because it was such a hot day that it made her head dizzy and queer and the figures had seemed to move. She said that it was so "queer" that she should be afraid of these figures when she generally was not afraid of such things

and was not a bit superstitious. She continued to see these figures and other ones like them.

This silly fright she said had gotten on her nerves so that she began to be afraid of other things. One day when walking with "her boy" she suddenly was afraid that he would kill her and she insisted on coming back home. In the street she was afraid of strangers. "How could you tell what they might really be?" Several times she had thought that some woman standing near her might be a man disguised in woman's clothing. She had been afraid to say that the sunlight frightened her for that might make people think her "balmy." She said that strangers looked at her and the sun made her head ache. She withdrew more and more until now she stayed at home while the sister went out to work. In her talks with me she returned again and again to the terror of the effigies and to her hatred of going out in the sun.

Here was a real haunting terror whose power was undermining her life and making her almost long for the retreat of insanity, an idea with which she was fascinated. We had to step behind these figures to find the fears that they were masking.

In the analysis it developed that her lover had been seriously injured in the war and at the time when this fright occurred it was quite doubtful whether or not he would recover. At any time she might receive word of his death. She assured me that this was not the cause of her fear for she *did not let herself think of this at all but made herself think only of his recovery and kept on planning their home when he should be well and able to do like other men.*

The doctors had told her positively that if he recovered from the operation he must always be an invalid. Her marriage to him would involve great sacrifice on her part as she would have to continue work and also assume the cares of the house. There was a small pension but this pension would not be enough to relieve her of the financial responsibility. She had been a rather delicate, timid child, greatly afraid of the father who had taken pleasure in exploiting her fears. On this account she had been unduly shielded by both her mother and her sister. When she had been forced to bear some part of the household expense, a very easy place had been found for her by the sister. Now she was facing a situation where she would have to be strong and carry the brunt of the burden.

Consciously she accepted this and was planning for her marriage in spite of her mother's protests. Now she needed to be very well but she found herself getting nervous. It "all began with those two figures and the queer feeling when she got back on the bright street." She repeated over and over that she wanted most of all to marry but of course she could not if she was going queer. Then she told in detail of the figures. One especially exercised a powerful fascination. It was of an old man with a face so shrunken as to be like a skeleton and with long bony hands. Whenever she thought of him she was in terror, but at once she again saw the bright street.

These two fears were *her fear of life and her fear of death*. Either way there opened before her a path she had not the courage to face. Her engagement to this man had taken place when they were hardly more than

children. She could not think of life without him, yet if he lived and she married him she must put away the childish sheltered life and take her place as a strong woman, one strong enough to even give up much of a normal woman's life, children and the security of home.

Since she dared not face either possibility she had refused to think of the reality which confronted her but had taken refuge in phantasies of their life together when he should be "well and strong like other men." She had made herself "look on the bright side of things," by that method which many of us use when we mean refusing to look on the positive side of the existing situation and turning away from the real problem to hide behind a comforting phantasy. We must, even in our dealing with young children, keep clear the distinction between the phantasy which is creative and has the value that we find in poetry and works of imagination, and the phantasy which is used as a retreat from reality. Looking on the bright side by refusing to acknowledge existing conditions is another form of refusing responsibility.

In this case her love and the positive value of a real human relationship was the real "bright side." In taking refuge in the phantasy that he was going to get perfectly well and she would not have to face the problem, she pushed down her fears into the unconscious where they continued to operate and made themselves known in "pains and queer feelings." When she went into the church, these effigies appeared as symbols of the power of death and, outside, the busy street was the compelling force of life. The sudden sight of the death symbol crystallized the vague terror forms of the unconscious and made them take concrete form. They imaged the fear,

and into the images she projected the fears she would not face.

She had a singularly childish and undeveloped mind but she had intelligence. She saw that she must look behind the images to the inner meaning. Seen in this way her fears were of very real and tremendous things that had been masking behind the seeming trivialities. Even her dread of insanity was a desire for it as a retreat. No one could remove the terrific burden. The question was one for her own choice. Was her love strong enough to make her willing to take up this life and to find its positive values? So interpreted, her fears were not foolish things, for she had a problem which called for the fullest measure of courage and love. The unmasking of the fears and the acceptance of the new attitude were not the simple things that this very brief sketch might seem to imply. Many inner forces that had been operative since her early childhood had to be brought to light, and much in herself had to be faced. I am here giving only the facts of the projected fear.

It is this form of projection of the feeling into the object which is the ruling factor when the primitive endows his totems with magic power. Into them he projects his fears and his awe of unknown mysteries. Then by the observance of certain forms and taboos he can propitiate the unknown force and save himself from the devastating power of the fear. So great then becomes the power of the symbol on to which the fear has become projected that the breaking of a taboo surrounding it may result in death. Men have been known to die of fright on finding that they have unknowingly broken a taboo which it was death to break, or even when they

have done the act deliberately the ensuing fear and sense of guilt have resulted in death. There are many records of this in primitive tribes or in such cases as of those who touched the ark of the covenant.

In treating the fears of children we must remember that it is because the object symbolizes a situation that they fear or calls up an inner image of terror that their fear often seems out of all proportion to the object which invokes it. The fear is made concrete in the object.

Often, too, children, like primitives, will invent elaborate formulas and magic rites by which to propitiate the things that they fear. A woman told me that as a child she had a great fear of the dark. She especially hated a queer shadow cast by the top of a high bureau when the light was fading. She decided it was a "dark spirit" and invented a magic formula to keep it quiet. This, she said, became much more important than even her evening prayers. She was not supposed to be an especially imaginative child nor did she develop any neurosis, in fact she was a very normal sort of person. These secret formulas are by no means uncommon but the child rarely discloses them, and as other interests develop they are pushed down and forgotten.

I knew one especially dominating child who became a sort of medicine man to the infant tribe because of these inventions. He was able to impress has phantasies on the other children so that, though they might scoff, they had an uneasy feeling that there was too much chance of its all being true for them to dare to go against the magic dictates. Frequently the adult who is most ruthless in ridicule of these childish credulities is the one who clings most tenaciously to his own. Why should we impress

upon children the Old Testament myths as true and then laugh at them for believing fairy tales? Is Tom Thumb in the cow's belly more difficult to accept literally than Jonah in the belly of the whale?

Another process which is quite nearly akin to the projection of the fear into the symbol is its projection into a substituted fear. Here again most of the process takes place in the unconscious. A young girl who was having great difficulty in her school work and in her school adjustments began to be extremely nervous, and had a fearful dream from which she awoke in a condition of terror and emotional uncontrol. She did not wish to talk of the dream in her waking hours. At first she said that she did not remember it, then that she did not want to talk of it. It had, however, a compelling power over her thoughts. She was nervous in the morning and found it increasingly difficult to prepare for the tasks of the day. The power of the dream did not decrease, and after a little the dream itself returned. We had a very friendly relationship and in the course of an afternoon spent together, she was able to tell me the dream.

"Some one living on our block has been murdered and the murderer has not been found but every one believes that I did it. I know that I did not and am innocent, but I know that no one will believe me. Then I know that they are coming to take me and that there is no way out and that *no one will believe that I did not do it.*"

She was greatly disturbed by the telling of the dream. Then, with a good deal of emotional emphasis, she said that she understood perfectly why she had dreamed it as a man had been murdered in their neighborhood and the murderer had not been found but some one was suspected

and was being watched. She said that "quite naturally" she had thought of how the poor man must feel if he were really innocent and yet knew that he was suspected and might be accused. But these "quite natural" feelings had taken on a form of identification with this unknown man. She had acute suffering in imagining his fears, and kept asking herself how she would feel in his place. Then she began to read all the murder cases in the papers and think how easy it would be for some one to come into their house and commit murder there. In this way she gave a plausible explanation of the existing situation.

Identifications involving so much of emotional effect do not take place unless the person involved represents some phase of our own personal problem. I asked her what was the thing for which she felt she might be blamed and of which she was innocent.

"There isn't anything," she said, "except that I know I can't pass my examinations and everybody will think it is my fault, and the more I try, the more I know I can't pass."

The child was in a school of very high scholastic standing, and was in the college preparatory section, a section which was very rigid in its demands. There was a history of barely averted failure in spite of special tutoring; all this had developed a certain attitude on the part of the teachers and in her own mind. Although her mind worked slowly and it had been a constant struggle to keep up she herself had been determined to take the college course. She had a very strong relationship with her parents and was quite conscious that, whatever they might say, they would be deeply disappointed if she failed

to attain this special end. This, far more than her own desires, was the influence at work. Children who are obstinately insistent upon pursuing a course too difficult for their ability at a particular time are frequently keenly cognizant of their parents' unspoken ambition and are trying to fulfill its demands.

Every one was now trying to help this young girl by telling her that she must not be afraid of her examinations and that she would surely pass. This served only to increase her fears, for it deepened her feeling that she would be considered guilty because of her failures. It was her parents' hope that would be "murdered" and she, though really innocent, would be held responsible. Then there came to light vague doubts as to whether her own attitude was really right. There might after all be something within herself that she was murdering in continuing on her present way.

As is usual in such cases there was also a compensatory attitude. When one feels in danger of drowning one clutches at straws, and when one feels engulfed by feelings of inferiority one must have some sense of superiority in which to take refuge. In these cases the compelling forces lie in the unconscious and are often quite unreasonable in their manifestations. In this instance the girl had a very superior attitude toward her classmates. Certain matters of deportment assumed absurdly great significance. She became overpunctilious, so that a really admirable desire to do right and to hold high standards became lost in a maze of exaggerations. The other girls felt this, and, with the careless cruelty of youth, used it to torment her. A very strong loyalty to the school and a conscious desire for friendship blinded

her to her underlying attitude of resentment. She had the following dream.

"We were having dinner and all of a sudden there were bugs all over everything. They were horrid; I could not eat." She had an intense dislike of bugs so that on camping trips or picnics her pleasure was spoiled by them. She talked at length of this. After a little talk on another subject I asked her to give her first association when I said a word. I then said, "bugs." She answered "X," (the name of the school). I said, "Go on." She continued "girls," and then broke off—"Why, how funny! That has nothing to do with bugs."

All of a sudden she became embarrassed and began to laugh in a confused way. The dream had forced its association upon her and she could not help seeing that she thought of the girls as bugs. She had been having difficulty in her athletics because in basket ball, in which she took great interest, she would, at the critical time, pass the ball to the wrong side. This disturbed her greatly and she made every effort to play correctly, but always with the same result. From the analysis of this dream she was able to see that the undercurrent of resentment which she felt in the unconscious took command in the moment of excitement and made her betray her side in spite of every conscious desire to help them win.

Here we see the interplay between the sense of inferiority and the compensatory feelings of superiority. Unfortunately this interplay does not result in a normal balance enabling the individual to adapt to life more successfully. Instead it produces a more unbalanced state in which first one overemphasized attitude and then the other prevails. A girl as old as this could become con-

scious of these forces at work, and learn to see why her exaggerated attitudes seized hold of her and made her their servant. She must first find herself and her own real values, and then be willing to give genuine effort to attain the thing which ought to be hers.

Here again we see the danger of choosing a definite goal for a child and marking failure or success by the attainment of an especial end. This results in a confusion of values, for effort, understanding, and self-development are made secondary to a particular achievement. If this achievement is not attained there may arise, as in this case, not only a feeling of failure and inferiority which seeks to compensate by suggested superiority, but also a feeling of guilt at not giving the thing demanded. In such a case the positive values are all enlisted on the wrong side. A child who has little loyalty or real love will not be so troubled by the sense of responsibility. The very strength of the bond which existed between this child and her parents increased the haunting sense of guilt in the unconscious, and this, together with the feeling of impotence, produced the terror dream of being held responsible for a murder which she had not committed. Through the identification with the suspected murderer she could project her fears as a form of sympathy without having to accept them as her own. Then the interest extended to all murder cases and the fear became transferred to a fear of being murdered herself. It is through this type of projection that the real difficulty of the situation is veiled and an obsessive fear may spring up to take its place. It was quite natural for her to be insistent that the dream was caused by having read of the murder, though she admitted that she

had often read of such cases without their having made any special impression.

It is very common for people to explain dreams which have a strong emotional content as caused by something read or seen, but the unconscious seizes upon the thing which bears the special message, and which will in the most vivid way provide the symbol most freighted with meaning at the time. Therefore some apparently insignificant incident may be reproduced in a grotesque form, and yet we may feel the dream to be of great importance.

Another important element in all these fear situations is the strong influence of the parents' unspoken desire, whether this desire be in the unconscious or merely repressed from speech. In the case of the murder dream the child was more influenced by the real anxiety of the parents to have her accomplish this special course, than by their expressed but also real desire to have her do the thing that was best for her even if it meant giving up their plans. They were not selfishly ambitious but were honestly looking for the best way. In that search they made, as we all must make, some mistakes even while they were reaching out for a fuller understanding of their child.

In the first case cited in this chapter, that of the small boy caught in the net of his fear and rages, his intuitions were of forces in the father's unconscious which were not apparent to the father himself. We all have a deep-rooted feeling that our children will, by succeeding where we have failed, justify us in our own lives. To the primitive the child is his property, part of himself. This feeling, when understood, is not destructive of love, but we must be conscious of it so that we shall not have a hidden feeling that the failures of the child are a wrong

done to us. When we have such destructive undercurrents our ambition masquerades as love and whenever the child fails a personal resentment is raised. This small boy sensed the deeper anger which underlay his father's half-concealed irritation. His fear of punishment, when the father lost his self-control, is also a very natural fear reaction. The deeper emotions which seem to well up of themselves and often to sweep us away, so that they control us instead of our controlling them, have the roots of their being deep down in the collective unconscious. It is not so long ago, when we speak in terms of man's life on earth, that parents not only had the right of death over their children but exercised it at the dictates of their own uncontrolled and not understood emotions. Dr. Jung in *Psychological Types* speaks of a bushman who on returning from an unsuccessful fishing trip was met by his favorite little son, and in a fit of sudden rage wrung the child's neck. He was almost immediately overcome with grief at the tragic result of his own act, an act which he could in no wise understand. There is, in the collective unconscious, an inheritance of fear and distrust, as well as these forces of sudden rage and hate. An instability of emotional attitudes on the part of the adult controlling the situation is an entirely legitimate cause for an attitude of fear in the child. It rouses in him a deep sense of insecurity. In the primitive, hate, love, fear, anger, find their immediate relief in acts. These primal emotions lie close together in the depths of the unconscious and are sometimes hard to distinguish. So the anger of one person may call up fear in another.

To an intuitive child the possibility is more real and

to be feared than the actuality. The mind leaps over the existing to the becoming. Therefore such a child especially fears the anger lying behind the act. The mother of one such child told me that, if she was angry, any movement that she made toward the child seemed to rouse terror, though the child had never been whipped. Another woman who developed a fear neurosis that had hampered her life told me that on analysis she realized that all through her childhood she had been terror-haunted because of the sound of her mother's voice when quarreling with her father. It seemed, she said, to "sweep everything away." Since the love of the parent is the strongest emotional security of the child what wonder that a sense of instability there should fill life with fear?

Frequently a child battling with this type of fear will develop a strong will-to-power. There is a surge of desire to master the situation and to control the parent lest he escape and the child be left alone. A little girl who had a very strong love for her mother and father, and was felt by them to be a drag upon their ambitious professional and social life, developed a sudden willfulness. She was arbitrary in her demands for attention, became impertinent, defiant, insistent upon her demands upon the parents' time. These periods of autocratic behavior alternated with periods of tenderness and loving companionship. Then certain regressive symptoms made their appearance. She began thumb-sucking, at the same time stroking her own cheek and ear, symptoms unimportant to dwell on in themselves but indicative of an infantile emotional attitude.

This child had already been sent to a summer camp

when she was barely six and the parents were now, when she was barely nine, expecting to send her to a boarding school for small children. The child had strong intuitions of the insecurity of her hold upon her parents' love. No one with any psychological insight could talk long with the mother without seeing personal ambition peering from behind her ardor for "a larger life" and for being of use to her husband. It was this unadmitted and unrecognized personal ambition that was the corroding influence in the relationship and destroyed the child's feeling of security in love. Therefore she tried in these pathetic little power ways to gain control of the parents. The thumb-sucking was here, as it frequently, though by no means invariably is, an unconscious attempt to allay fear. To get back into an infantile, protected state gives a feeling of security. Such feelings may be auto-erotically produced by sucking and stroking.

Again we come back to those hidden forces of relationship. I have known children who had to leave home at an equally early age because of conditions which were beyond the parental control, conditions which were courageously faced. Although there was homesickness and anxiety, the background of trust and confidence in the parents' love remained; and the integrity of the relationship furnished a sense of security which stood between the child and the nervous terrors that are so apt to fill hours of loneliness.

There are also irrational and obsessive fears which arise from association. In such cases the original fear has its origin in the trauma or shock, an experience which in itself first causes an intense emotional reaction and is apparently forgotten, but which through blind asso-

ciation produces recurrent fears and a sense of haunting terror.

In one case a child had times of dumb panic so that she seemed "frozen" and unable to complete simple sentences or to have any control over her thought processes. She was observed to be bewildered when there were certain types of noise, the passing of a truck, the rolling of a heavy object, the roar of traffic. It was found that when as a very small child she had been alone upstairs there had been a terrific thunderstorm. There was a sudden flash of lightning and an instantaneous peal of thunder. The mother ran upstairs and found the child clutching her crib in speechless terror. There was reason to believe that she had received a slight shock. She was handled with skill and tenderness and the ill effects apparently passed away. When, however, she went from the shelter of the home to the new atmosphere of the school all her natural timidity was awakened, for she was a very gentle, reserved, introverted child. The fears began to stir again and every passing noise exaggerated them and roused the old associations of terror. She was greatly helped by having her attention directed toward these associations and by being shown why the noises produced such fear. There remained, however, much to be done in the understanding of the child's own nature and of her attitude of withdrawal. The innate timidity had to be met and her self-confidence restored.

Freud discovered that the so-called trauma was often only a phantasy trauma, that is, an imagined happening; or was an occurrence which normally should be merely incidental but which, because of the predisposition or the arousing of some inner image, assumed unwonted pro-

portions. Therefore, in such cases of fear it is not enough to track down this trauma. We must also see what are the inner elements that made this shock have such overwhelming consequences. This is a far more difficult task and often calls for long and patient analysis. In the case of an adult it is a direct process. In the case of a child it often involves analytical work with the parent, since it is frequently their attitude which is affecting the child. The trauma assumes terrifying proportions when it is met by an especially receptive attitude, and connected with the psychological problem of the individual. The individual must, therefore, reckon with his own inner difficulties.

Kimmins, in his book on children's dreams, comments on the fact that though in England the air raids were a very real terror, and occurred in the terror dreams of children, all trace of them seemed to have disappeared even from dream association a few months after the cessation of the raids. Contrasted with this quick disappearance of terror associations are the recurrent dreams of an eleven-year-old boy; dreams of falling from high places, being forced to jump from fast-moving trains, etc.; dreams which had a high degree of emotional effect. The association which came to light was of a threat which his father had made when the boy was only about three years old, that he would throw him down an elevator shaft. The boy knew that his father would not have done this, he realized that the persistence of the terror was unreasonable; yet it persisted. A dream like this indicates that the real cause of the fear still exists. In this instance it was the fear of his father's unreasonable anger and of the wrong element in the relationship. The

thing he really feared, the father's misdirected authority, was still a menace: the actual trauma was used as a peg on which to hang the blind fears.

The fear of fire is a very prevalent fear with children. Often they have witnessed a fire. In our large cities, especially, there is the frequent shriek of the fire engine, the clang of the gongs, the wail of the siren—terrifying noises that split the darkness. This reasonable side of the fear can be met by reasonable means: a stress on the value of these same monsters of terror, the fire engines; a knowledge of the safety of the child's own environment; an emphasis on the positive protection.

There is another intangible fear of fire which seems to be related to the inner image. One dream which I have met with great frequency is a dream of a "little man" with fire coming out of his back, or a "little man" hidden under the bed whose back spurted fire, or sometimes a little person climbing up a hill with fire coming out of his back. In most cases, though not in all, these dreams have been dreamed by overconscientious children who are in safely conventional surroundings. Fire is the symbol of the instinctive force, the primitive power. In the early myths it is closely linked with sexual rites, also with the theft of the forbidden power; hence it is linked in the unconscious with the sense of sin. We are afraid of our instincts, hence we repudiate them. In children whose natural and instinctive reactions are suppressed these old symbols break through. This is a deduction based on such data as I have been able to gather. I should be greatly interested to have the findings of others, in contradiction or in verification.

Another interesting thing about these special fire

dreams is the use of the symbol of the Cabiri, the kobold or dwarf, the "little man" who is in mythology one of the delvers in the earth, one who deals in elemental things. The fire comes out of his back. The unconscious is often symbolized as the back. Things repressed from consciousness break forth at the back. That this dream, in varying settings but with the main figure with fire coming out of the back, has appeared so frequently seems to warrant such an interpretation of the symbol.

We have an instinctive fear of the elemental forces within us. Instead of looking to them as sources of renewal as did Antæus when he stooped to touch the mother earth we make every effort to separate ourselves from them. We do well to fear their elemental power, for, if we allow ourselves to be swept away by them, we are lost, as in an engulfing flood. When we try to cut ourselves off from them, to deny their force within ourselves, we only cut ourselves off from the original springs of life. Then in some symbolic form they may break through in projected fears. Children who repress their natural expression of energy, who are too good, too well-trained, too docile, often have these dreams.

Such fears of instinctive forces have to be reckoned with; the fear of sex, the fear of sex knowledge, the fear of sin, the fear of elemental emotions such as rage and jealousy. Often we discover such fears to be sex fears whose reverse side is a wish fulfillment. A young girl of low-grade mentality had an obsessing fear of pregnancy. She was in love with a young man who had paid her only the most casual attention. On one occasion he had kissed her. She had the phantasies so common with children, of impregnation through the mouth. She lived in fear pic-

tures of herself and her family as being disgraced and cast off by society. She even attempted suicide. The whole sexual relation was carefully explained to her and she had expressed the most intense relief, she was better for only a short period and then returned to her phantasy. This is a phantasy deep rooted in the collective unconscious, and to be found constantly recurring in old tales, but its persistence here was due to desire. Should she be pregnant it might be that the man would have to marry her and, though her conscious denied the wish, the unconscious was continually thrusting it forward in the form of a fear.

Sometimes these symbolic forms break through in the fear of a special animal. This fear may arise because at some time when we were caught—either by ourselves or by another—in some act of which we were ashamed, some blind jealousy, some dishonesty, this animal was associated with the act. Sometimes it is because we fear in ourselves the quality which the animal has symbolized in the primitive myth. So a cat fear may exist because of certain unacknowledged possibilities of treachery in ourselves. An abnormal fear of snakes may be a fear of our own unrecognized sexuality. In the myth of Circe the magic wine turned each one who drank it into the animal whom he most resembled, and the hidden thing became apparent. There was no power in the wine to change the inner nature of the man, but only to crystallize into form what was there already. So the unconscious crystallizes these fears into projected animal form and we fear these animals. With children the animal fear may be identified with something feared in the parent—some cruelty or some selfishness.

I do not wish to be understood to mean that all animal fears have such a basis. Often a child is taught fear of animals by overtimid elders; but in any case where we find the obsessive fear persisting it is well to try to see further into the unconscious.

It would not be possible in this chapter to deal extensively with the various forms of fear. These cases may suggest something of the magnitude and delicacy of the task which confronts one who has to deal with fear-driven children. It may also contribute to that attitude of sympathetic understanding and of respect for the reality world of each human being which is the first essential in attempting to deal with childhood fears. Back of it all again is the security of that relationship which is founded on trust and love and sincerity, a security which is the fundamental right of childhood.

CHAPTER IX

SEX

The first and most important question in the problem of the sex education of the child is: what kind of sex education have we had ourselves? What, as a result, is our attitude toward sex? Have we clear ideas of the place of sex in life, and in that most important department of life, human relationships? Have we become conscious of our own sexuality with all its powers for good or evil? In this realm, as in all others, mere knowledge of facts cannot replace understanding; for it is not sexuality, but the attitude toward sexuality that is the important factor.

We may have careful and accurate knowledge of sex in all its biological and physiological aspects. To this knowledge of facts we may add a consciously accepted theory that since this is the way in which children must be conceived it is beautiful and holy. This conscious assumption we may try to impart to a child. But if we have, in our unconscious, resistances that make us feel that it was rather a mistake on the part of the creator to insist upon such a method and that our coöperation with him is a concession to the lower man, we are unfit to teach sex to a child. For in this, as in all other instruction, he will not get from us what we say, but what we, in our inmost depth, believe.

We may supply all, or even more, knowledge than the

child really needs; but it is inexorably true that if we dodge the deeper issues of its meaning in life, if we attempt to sublimate all sexuality, or if we seize upon it as an indulgence which we must unfortunately have because of desire, we really impart to the child our own attitude of confusion and compromise.

One who would educate a child in matters of sex must himself be educated by life to a true understanding. In addition to this he must have a real rapport with the child. Normal understanding of the natural facts of life should come naturally and incidentally. The education that comes from being with an understanding person at the right moment often proves most effective. We cannot establish rapport suddenly in order to meet a special need. If a child has been left to go his own way, especially in matters of his inner thought life, we cannot expect to break through these barriers suddenly and to be received into the intimacies of his confidence. Every time we fail to understand, every time we are too busy to talk of the thing that really matters, every time we laugh at, instead of with, him, we increase the probability that he will not come to us with questions about the next thing that is of importance to him. Throughout a long summer vacation a father used to get up early to go fishing with his boy. They were not very successful as anglers but one day he said to me, "We don't catch many fish but those early morning hours are a wonderful time to catch thoughts."

In our lives with our children we should provide plenty of times to catch thoughts. If we have done this we can be confident that the child will ask us about the thing that he is interested in at the time that the interest first

appears. It will be the most natural thing for him to do.

A child is not interested in sex matters because they are sex, but because they are a part of life, and his business is with living. He is full of curiosity; he wants to know how and why. The more intelligent he is, the more curious he is. Curiosity is a great impulse toward knowledge and, as we develop, the form and intensity of our curiosity determines the form of our development. If curiosity is satisfied quite simply at the time of its normal appearance the subject falls into its proper place and carries no overweight of mystery or repression. Anything can be made an obsessive idea by being surrounded with mystery. When children become abnormally curious it is not because of an abnormal intensity of the original interest, but because of the abnormal secrecy with which the thing is surrounded. I have seen one child drive a roomful of other children frantic with curiosity over an empty box, simply because she assumed an air of mystery over it, and refused to open the box. Pandora was a very normal young person.

We cannot give to the child our adult conceptions, nor tell him, at first, anything but the first simple facts; but during that simple telling our inner attitude shows through and illuminates or engulfs the spirit of the tale. If our attitude is wrong, a child, especially if he is intuitive, catches a sense of uncertainty or shame peering furtively from behind the curtain of the well-painted fact and immediately the center of his interest shifts. No longer is it concentrated upon the thing that is being told, but upon that queer and shameful thing that is being withheld. He may, or he may not, get the facts

clear in his mind—that depends upon the strength of his interest in the intuited inner thing; but, unless he is entirely factually minded, the deeper impression is made by the thing that is withheld. The more deeply he is introverted, the greater is the value that he places upon the inner reality and the greater is the harm done, though the damage may appear greater in the child who goes out to hunt down the concealed thing in the form of more knowledge.

One difficulty which we must all encounter is that we cannot arrange to have a child's inner mechanism react in a special way at a special time. Things have a way of happening at unforeseen times. A child may ask a question about these matters when visitors are present and the adults, who are none too secure in their own attitudes, become embarrassed. There are glances of evident confusion, there is a burst of laughter, or a shocked silence. Then the child is hustled out of the room to the companionship of his own feelings of humiliation, and he resolves that he will never again consult an adult in regard to that particular question.

There are several courses, any one of which he may follow according to his own particular temperament. His curiosity may be sharpened and he may seek information from some more sympathetic source (some child more "knowing," but perhaps very much misinformed). He may try to answer his questions for himself, piecing together stray bits of knowledge and weaving about them phantasies, many of which may persist even after he has been enlightened; for these phantasies he has not only his own personal imagination as material, but also the myth-building power of the collective unconscious that comes

to him in dream and in daydream. Or, he may take a third way and, finding the subject too painful because of feelings of shame invoked by the experience, he may resolve to forget it altogether. He seems then to the uncomprehending adult to be charmingly innocent and devoid of all such curiosities—a very delicate-minded child. Even if he succeeds in repressing them and driving them completely out of his consciousness, he is not the gainer but the loser thereby, for he passes an infantile period without having satisfied the curiosities proper to that period. Later they may return, in which case he will find himself confronted with infantile things that should have been long outgrown. They are then apt to be linked with regressive acts. Infantile curiosities are likely to go as hard in adult life as infant diseases.

Possibly this child who asks no questions may have received information at a very early age from another child or from an ignorant servant. This information may have come in some very shocking way. The measure of the danger is here again to be gauged by the depth of his confidence in the parent. If there is sufficient reality in that he will tell the experience and ask the truth, or even if he does not at first tell, he will show signs of disturbance and be ready to confide, when questioned, the thing that is troubling him. If the relationship is insecure he cannot risk divulging such a secret. He hides it away, and its very horror gives it fascination.

It is well to keep in mind that it is normal for a child to want to know where babies come from and how. Much trouble will be avoided if the whole subject is treated like any other. Mothers say that if a child does not ask it seems forced and unnatural to hand out the information,

but life always gives plenty of opportunities. In the child's own family, or in the home of some friend, a baby may be arriving. Then the subject can easily be talked of, and the child will be quite sure to ask what he wants to know. There are plenty of opportunities, but we are not always ready to grasp them.

It is equally important that we should not force these things. Telling too much may be as bad as telling too little. For the past few years the horrors of repression have been so dwelt upon that some of us would tumble out the whole story at once, lest we leave a lurking-ground for repression. It is this same attitude that fills some adult conversations with a form of so-called frankness that is nothing but a violation of the decent privacies of life, and a means of gratifying morbid interest. The best guide in this dilemma is the child himself. Give him a chance to question, be sure of his confidence, and then answer his questions as simply as possible, assured that if he wants to know the next step he will ask about it.

In spite of all that has been written about the necessity of early sex education and the floods of sex literature that are upon the market, any one who deals with the problem of children is amazed to find how little impression this has made upon the mind of the average parent, and how little help has been given the average child. The little child is still considered too little long after his normal curiosity has wakened; or, if the first simple facts have been taught at the proper time, the responsibility is assumed to have been fully met, and all the difficult problems that arise during the period of adolescence and the early youth of post-adolescence are left to chance experience.

A few instances taken from a long list of similar cases may be more convincing than argument. I shall choose these cases from among the children of educated parents and from cultured homes, since it is from such homes that we expect the wisest and most advanced methods. In order that we may see clearly the outcome of this *laissez faire* method I will later in the chapter give a few cases of neurotic adults, where the neurosis has developed as a result of conditions similar to those cited in child analysis.

One of the most usual symptoms that occur when a child has a morbid, unsatisfied sex curiosity is deceit. This may take the very positive form of stealing, or the more negative form of evasion or lying. A little girl who had stolen was marked out as a thief, and "a thoroughly deceitful child." The mother protested her own lack of responsibility and told how carefully she had taught the child that she must always tell the truth and never take anything that was not hers. She had not spared moral precept. I told her that I had reason to believe that the child was full of sex curiosity, and had been trying to get information from other children. I suggested that sometimes children became deceitful because of a feeling that they were unable to get the knowledge that they desired from the proper sources, and then, being driven to get it in obscure ways, they developed a sense of guilt that made them continue the deceit in other ways. I asked about the sex knowledge of the two children in that family. She replied that they were perfectly innocent, and knew nothing about such things. No, I need not worry on that score. But I inquired:

"Have they never asked where babies come from?"

"Oh, yes, and I told them that God brought them straight from heaven."

"You know that he does not, though."

In a shocked voice she answered, "But you couldn't tell *the truth* about a thing like that," and added as a proof of her careful training, "then I told them never to ask about such a thing again, and they never have."

Since hope dies hard, I still pursued the subject, and suggested that she have a frank talk with them now.

"I couldn't," she said. "I was brought up so carefully myself that I never knew about those nasty things until I was married, and had to. I have tried to bring them up the same way."

With this attitude there was no possibility of her telling the child anything that would not carry with it a false atmosphere. I could, however, get her consent to let me enlighten the child and, this having been done, we started on the constructive path with the result that the stealing stopped, and the lying and cheating steadily decreased until one day when she received a much coveted "perfect paper," she arose and faced the class and said:

"That isn't my mark. I cheated."

Then I felt no doubt about the complete clearing up of all the evil effects of the deception that had been practiced upon her.

It is difficult for us to realize how an attitude or trend once started will continue to operate in the unconscious, so that there are compelling impulses toward acts connected with it. If one thing is concealed, others will be. Here I would be distinctly understood to mean only a concealment that carries with it a sense of guilt even if the reason for this guilt be not clearly apprehended, or

a willful or surreptitious deceit. Taking one thing, even information, in a surreptitious manner will start impulses toward taking other things.

Space does not permit my multiplying instances of this special result of sexual misinformation, but a long list of cases has come under my observation. In clinical work and in juvenile courts this has been found true. Dr. William Healy speaks of many cases where information had been imparted in obscene language, and the remembrance of the words was enough to awaken the impulse to pilfer. Here a substitution of the decent word and a sympathetic understanding of the difficulty helped the child to free himself from the obsessive idea.

In other cases there may be no actual wrongdoing, nothing tangible. The child does no wrong, but neither does he do any right. There is no interest, he does not pay attention, he is lost in a maze, a daydreamer. At home he forgets, he is stupidly careless; at school he fails. His answers are random shots rarely hitting the mark, yet at times when he is "all there" he shows a power of reasoning or an intuitional insight that makes us sure that mental qualities are not lacking. Perhaps intelligence tests are tried, and the result confirms our diagnosis. The engine is evidently there, but the dynamic force of the electric current is lacking. We fall back on the old way of saying that it is the child's own fault, but an emphatic statement of this fact gets us nowhere, either with the child or with the situation.

The question is, what is happening? What has become of the power that should be applied to running the machine? It is very evidently diverted to some other purpose. The simple fact that a thing cannot be in two

places at once is applicable here. The compellingly operative dynamic force of the interest (the libido, life-energy) cannot be in the conscious and in the unconscious at the same time. Whatever is drained off into the unconscious in phantasy is diverted from conscious use. Our task becomes one of finding out what images are exercising a fascination and holding the interest below the level of conscious thought. The unconscious has a tremendous magnetic power, pulling down interests into itself, and when this interest is drawn down into the unconscious it takes on more and more primitive forms. It regresses to primitive phantasies. The child himself does not know what is happening. He simply becomes lost in a maze. I do not wish to be understood as implying that when this condition of mind occurs, we can assume that it is a sex difficulty that is causing the confusion, for it may have a very different cause, but that particular one operates frequently enough to warrant our investigating this condition. To give a typical case, a girl with this tendency toward listless abstraction told the following dream:

"I was lost in the woods. It was dark. I was wandering round and round. I met another girl. She was lost too. We wandered round and round till we met a bear. We killed him. I can't remember how, but I think with sticks and stones. We built a fire and roasted him, and he came out a baked potato."

The dream showed her own condition. She was lost, wandering round and round in a wood. She could find no guide who was not also lost, none but another child, wandering round and round as she was. The bear who came out a roast potato probably signifies her desire to

dispose of her difficulties in some such simple manner. Perhaps it was a suggestion from her unconscious that the difficulty is more simple than she has supposed.

At the time of this dream her class was studying birds. The child in question did not seem interested in the special markings or the general features under discussion, but turned the birds upside down and looked under their tails. One day a Bible story was told. A question was asked the class. She raised her hand and remarked in a dreamy voice, apropos of nothing:

"My mother says being born is horrid."

It was not difficult to infer the buried interest of this child. A talk about the birds, eggs, and baby birds, given in class, and then a very frank talk about baby animals and human babies did not seem to be enough to clear the question. She had also to receive individual instruction given in a very clear and simple way.

It often surprises us that at the first telling of the truth the matter is not cleared up, because it is difficult for us to realize the compelling power of the phantasy and its persistence. It is as though an inner voice were telling the story over and over in its own way. The phantasy becomes the truth to the child, and its frequent repetition is as convincing as an oft-told tale. We know that if we tell a thing ten times one way and once another way, the repetitions will win out unless the single telling carries with it some impressing quality of conviction and satisfaction. We may therefore have to repeat our explanation several times.

With this child more damage was done because she was a child of deeply introverted type, and phantasy exercised compelling power. Her difficulty will not cease

with this single clearing of the mystery. Her own inner world is too fascinating, and it will always be easier to take refuge in this world when the outer world is too hard or too uninteresting. A sympathetic relationship with an adult who understands and who is ready to meet the difficulty and to bring this phantasy thinking into line with the truth without ridicule or blame will keep open the door to the objective world. She must also be made increasingly to face her own responsibility in using this world of easy and undirected thinking as an escape from her job of living.

Here is a striking example of what I said at the beginning of this chapter about the importance of a true attitude; for it was found that this mother had told the facts of life as an unwelcome duty. The words the mother had spoken were carefully chosen but the child's whole attention had been so focused upon the manner that underlay the words that the only thing that had deeply impressed her was "my mother says being born is horrid." The same story told by an adult who had a different attitude, and to whom the child had a real relationship of love and confidence, dissolved the sense of horrid mystery.

It is the power of mystery that makes a child with perverted or precociously developed sex knowledge such a danger to the class or to all the members of a child group. Nowhere is the sense that knowledge is power more clearly shown in child life. Sometimes this form of power is used to compensate for a feeling of inferiority.

An adopted child who had been taken by the juvenile courts from a prostitute mother was after several years sent to a new school. She was in type an extraverted

sensation intuitive with keen dramatic sense and love of the beautiful, but in her earliest years she had lived by her wits and she had little balance or concentration. In the new school she found herself at a great disadvantage. All the other children possessed many things that she did not. In classroom work and in social adaptation she found herself outshone. One thing she did possess, and that was perverted sex knowledge. On this subject she could speak with authority. The thing which was her greatest separation was also her source of power, and this power she used.

She had been dismissed from her first school because of having been found in the toilet with some boys, and for other misdemeanors of this sort, but it was believed that she had been long enough under the influences of her new home to have counteracted the early difficulties. She had a keen, vivid interest in beauty, poetry, music, color; she possessed also a warm outgoing nature; but as her difficulties increased, as she saw other children surpassing her, she clutched at something to give her back her sense of importance, and this knowledge was her power. Even the story of her birth she dramatized. When she found its thrilling effect she could not resist the temptation to go on to greater elaboration. It became impossible ever to leave her alone with other children. Much as she needed the development of such contacts, the danger was too great for the others.

Such a child is a menace to an entire class unless watched every moment, and even then she exerts a fascination. She had very real and deep interest in beautiful and worth-while things, and I believe that except for her desire to compensate for her sense of inferiority

by using this knowledge she need not have been a harmful influence. We see this same motive at work in a less exaggerated form with many children who peddle sex knowledge.

There are many sex dreams that should be treated with extreme simplicity. A little girl of eight who had been told about babies everything that she seemed to wish to know, brought the following dream:

"I was out with the children having a party. Then we were all on the train going to Long Beach. Mademoiselle was there. J (a little boy with whom she had played that summer) was there too. He was running around naked. I took off my clothes and ran around naked too. The children laughed but I did not care. We ran naked. Then we were in the elevator in our apartment. We were going up to the roof to have ice cream. When we got up there we saw a great big sign, 'Private Property.' We could not go any farther. Mother stood in front of us and kept saying, 'Private Property! Private Property!' over and over till it made me laugh so that I woke up."

While she was telling the dream she turned with her back to me and then began talking nonsense. I asked simply:

"What would you like to know, M?"

"Nothing."

"Oh yes, you see you wanted to see something on the roof, and thought you must not. Now you can know about that thing as well as about any others. What is it that you want to know?"

"I want to know how little boys are made different from little girls."

I told her quite simply and then, since she was fond of lovely statues, I advised her mother to take her to the museum some day soon and let her see a boy figure. It was not long after that she lost all interest in both dream and subject.

Sometimes a child who has not been told as much as he desires and who is too conscientious to seek information from underground sources will dream or phantasy the entire story either as it actually happens or in the form of some old myth. A young boy of about eleven was becoming inattentive, and failing in his work. He had plenty of ability, and this sudden difficulty seemed unaccountable. He was unwilling to talk about it, but we took a long walk and in the course of the afternoon when we were resting by the roadside he told me that he had dreamed that he saw a girl coming toward him and had run to meet her. She had pressed close to him, and then he dreamed the sexual intercourse. He had wakened with feelings of extreme physical discomfort, and the dream had been so vivid that he had a guilty feeling as if the act had been actual. From then on at intervals the recollection of this dream experience would come to him in class and not only would he feel its compelling power but also a wave of intense shame would sweep over him, and he would say to himself:

"If they (the boys and teachers) knew about this they would not have me in the class."

He would then become confused and could not follow the questions nor think of the subject matter. The mere telling of this broke the power of the phantasy and a very direct matter-of-fact talk took away the horror and the fascination. One thing that seemed to help him was

to find that a boy could talk to a woman quite as naturally and simply as to a man. Often the difficulty is not a simple sex problem, it may be complicated by the whole trend of the child's conscious and unconscious life. Mingled with it may be fear of every sort, desire for undue attention, love of exciting others, and many other confusing things.

A girl twelve years old began to have seizures almost like epilepsy. She would grow pale, rigid, insensible; she would moan and show every sign of fear and pain. After these seizures she would be much confused and have violent headaches with the most severe pain in the back of her head. She had been under a doctor's care for some time, but the seizures had only increased. She was a very lonely child. Her mother had died, and her father was a very busy man who had to leave her much of the time with an ignorant servant. After a very short time she began to talk freely.

She had two great fears. One was that her mother whom she had loved dearly might be still in the ground. She had phantasies of her being lonely and crying out through the dark earth. The other fear was that she might be going to have a baby. She knew nothing of the sexual act, but had been told by a girl that women had awful pains before babies were born and now, at the beginning of her menstruation, she was having pains which seemed to her to correspond with the description which she had been given. She had made timid inquiries and the girl, who felt her importance as the bearer of forbidden knowledge, had given gruesome details of how the pains got worse and worse, but had never informed her that they did not continue for several months. Each

time that her menstruation began she tortured herself with the idea that she might be going to have a baby. She had also been told that a girl who had a baby was so wicked that no one would have anything to do with her, and she might just as well drown herself. The utter absurdity of this idea from the adult point of view had no influence upon its terrifically obsessing power.

She feared being left alone in the apartment. Her father was frequently away during the evening, and the servant went home directly after dinner. There were plenty of people in the house, but none near enough at hand to reassure her. When she had had a very bad turn her father would sometimes arrange to be at home or to have some one there. Then after the first seizure at school she received a great deal of attention which was unaccustomed and very welcome.

All these threads were woven into the fabric of the obsessing fear, and whenever their power became too great the child had a seizure or at the least a very violent pain in the back of her head and neck. She had not talked of her mother, for her father "did not seem to want to." At first we talked very simply of her mother and of all that they had done together. Then we spoke of the body as a garment for the spirit, one that had been outworn, and had no longer feeling or living force. Talking of her mother seemed to bring back her real and loving presence instead of the dead thing in the ground.

After this we talked of how she had been a part of her mother, of her conception. She had known that she grew in her mother, but that the seed from the father and from the mother had to be joined before the child could begin to be formed she had not been told. Now

she wished to know it all, and I told her of the joining of the two cells of the parent fish, of the cat, of the dog, and how the same law operated in the human world. She wanted to know how the seed got into the mother, and when told she said with relief, "Then you couldn't just happen to have a baby."

I told her how it was arranged so that the coming of the child could be planned for, and when she asked me why it was wicked for a girl to have a baby when she was not married I told her because it was selfish to bring a little child into the world without a home and a father and mother to care for it. She had been greatly concerned to find a good home for her kitten if she went away to camp, and I asked her if she did not think that it was even more necessary for a baby to have a real home than for a kitten. Selfishness was always wicked, and that was why people must be careful not to have little babies without trying to have everything happy for them.

We talked of her own seizures, and I told her that I thought she had them because she was afraid of things that she had not been able to understand, and that now that she understood she must not be afraid and they need not come back. I talked to her, too, of her own responsibilities, and told her that sometimes people hid behind being sick without really meaning to. I spoke of the temptations of her loneliness, and of how easy it was to use the sickness in order to make people stay with her. This helped her to see that that was childish and insincere.

It was arranged that she should not be in the apartment in the evening alone, and that her father would talk

with her about her mother, and would try to stay more with her. The seizures ceased, but, from what I have learned of her subsequent history, I fear that the father did not live up to his obligations of companionship and understanding. Though the especial difficulty did not return and there was for a time a great gain, the child and the father drifted apart. He evaded life in many ways, and she was reported as evasive and a bad influence in another school to which she went the following year. In such a case as this there is always danger that the hysterical tendency will come out later in some new form, unless there is established a counteracting influence which can reach over a long period.

As the child grows older the form of sexual interest changes. It is no longer merely curiosity as to the beginning of life, or the question "where do babies come from?"—neither is it the secondary interest in those problems of human relationship shown in the lives of the adults. The interests shown in the usually unasked question, "What do my mother and father do to make babies?" or "What is it that my father does to my mother?" changes now to a much more personal problem. Curiosity is more and more replaced by a strange and growing personal desire or a still stranger and more mysterious impersonal urge of life itself. With the coming of adolescence, with all the bewildering demands of growing up, the desire to know gives way to the urge to experience, or sometimes to the *fear* of experiencing. There arises in the adolescent a need not merely to know the physical facts of sex, or even the physical facts plus the psychic facts of parenthood and love of children and home, but even more to understand this great change

that is occurring in himself. What is this great hunger growing within him, what is its meaning, and its value for good or its power for evil in his own life? Shall it obtain gratification, and if so through what means may it be legitimately satisfied?

It has been noted that at this age certain changes are apt to take place in the dream content. At about twelve or thirteen years the terror dreams of girls increase while those of boys decrease. The dream of the robber and of being chased by a man (dreams which are common with both boys and girls at about seven or eight years) tend to increase with girls. At this time, too, girls often have dreams or phantasies of death, and religious dreams and phantasies in which the element of sacrifice enters. Boys' dreams tend to become more aggressive. Krimmins says that there are fewer dreams at this period, but I have not found such to be the case. In my own experience I have noticed a great increase in dream *repression.*

It is a period of extreme self-consciousness and of apprehension in regard to these psychic changes and dream retreats. If dreams are asked for as a classroom exercise or in a general conversational way, they are harder to obtain, and the child usually says that he does not dream. I have found, however, that wherever the rapport has been established and the child tells his dreams, this element is shown to be as active in the psychic life of the child at this time as at any other time. My explanation is that there is now a period of withdrawal. The child is bewildered by the dawning of new forms of consciousness, and the awakening of greater self-consciousness, and he either represses the new images arising from the

unconscious, or else holds them as immensely important but secret things.

The cause of the diverging content of the dream at this time is quite plain in the ideas of submission which sex awakens in the girl and of mastery in the boy. Boys and girls both have terror dreams in which the force itself appears as overpowering to the ego.

In the boy the sex awakening takes an earlier and more definite form. He cannot reach the age of eighteen without having had to face sexuality in its crude state and to recognize its possibility of being a purely animal urge, the war between its spiritual and animal aspects is keener, and the physical and mystical aspects more clearly separated. With him there is a natural cleavage between sexuality and feeling.

In the girl sexuality is more masked, more closely connected with her real feeling. For her bodily and spiritual values are more closely knit, or (as is too often the case) more hopelessly confused. It is normal for her to find her expression of life through relationships, and her sexuality is a secondary form of expression. Yet in the girl, too, it exists in its crude form. Sex as a biological factor and sex as a psychic factor must be acknowledged and their place accepted in the life of both boy and girl. The two aspects must be recognized, and their values and their dangers understood.

Everything connected with sex has for so long been under a ban that we must be careful now not to fly to the other extreme and preach sexual indulgence as a cure for repression. Nothing can be controlled until it is accepted. If a young girl is taught to regard the existence of sexual desire as a sin, her whole conscious effort is

to deny the existence of such a compromising thing in herself. Therefore perfectly natural sex attraction is misread into terms which can in no way injure her delicate susceptibilities. If she feels a strong sexual attraction toward a man not otherwise attractive to her she tricks out her attraction in a dress of womanly love, or when a strong sexual feeling emerges in a relationship already formed, she repudiates the entire connection for fear of the existing sex element. As the very real part that sex plays in the fusing together of two natures is unaccepted, so also is the very real lure of the crudely animal craving of sexuality ignored.

If a young girl could face her own sexuality and understand its rightful place in her relationships with men, there would be fewer tragic marriages. These are inevitable while she idealizes emotional excitement or covers it with a salvation phantasy of purifying and redeeming the man through the mystic quality of her love. Her real task is not to run away from any relationship simply because it contains sexuality, nor on the other hand to form relationships on that basis through translating emotional excitement into idealistic terms.

The boy's task does not lie in an effort to deny the existence of the purely physical aspects of sex, and to try to separate them from feeling values, but rather to learn to make a real connection between the two. Since his natural adaptations to life are not in the realm of feeling, his sexuality is more apt to be distinct from feeling and he must learn to find their connecting values in a love relation.

In dealing with the subject of sexuality, repression and suppression must not be confused. Much in the

civilized relationships of our lives must be suppressed and controlled. We must suppress and control all that runs counter to the highest good of civilization as well as to our own highest good as individuals. That is quite different from the repression into the unconscious of the thing which should instead be consciously acknowledged and controlled. To repress, that is to consciously deny the existence of, sexual impulses in ourselves only serves to force them down into the unconscious where they flourish and later emerge in surprising form and power. A boy who so represses all thought of sex may associate with women believing that he has no sexual urge, but suddenly he may be swept off his feet by a consuming desire which he may yield to in its crude form of passion, or he may confuse this yielding with love. On the other hand he may turn it into a sterile idealism which prevents him from forming proper relationships since he fears the necessary contact with reality.

No one of us can deal successfully with the problems of young people without admitting the sexual need as a real need, a human hunger. We must face the fact that we all have it, and that without its satisfaction we miss one vital part of our completion as human beings. We must also recognize that this hunger in civilized man is closely knit with the finer human relationships of love and companionship, and of home and responsibility. Stripped of these it becomes a barren affair. The human being who has found normal sex life has found one of the values. If we fear it or see no way of having it our task is not to deny its value nor to repress our human desire for it but to face this lack as a part of our individual problem, to form such a relation if opportunity offers,

and if not, to learn to use this energy in another way. Otherwise our repressions may return in the guise of hatred, narrow-mindedness, intolerance, unrelenting justice and revenge toward those who have not repressed. There is no judge so vindictive as he who is beset by his own unrecognized and unsatisfied desires.

With adolescence and post-adolescence there comes a greater need of becoming conscious of the collective forces that lie within each of us. The forms of early relationship that were suitable to the period of childhood have to be abandoned. The duty of knowing one's self becomes more imperative as the individual self begins to emerge.

This brings us to another great danger in the sex instruction of a young person: our own confusion in regard to its true value as a relationship expression. We all know that the sexual act is spiritually creative and vitalizing to the entire being when it is used as an expression of a deep reality of relationship as well as when it is used as a means of procreation. (I should perhaps qualify this by saying that we all know this unless we are ourselves under the sway of fears and repressions.)

In our discussions with young people, we still persist in representing it as beautiful *only* because it is an act of procreation, and we shy away from the discussion of its other aspect. In this way we tend to build up in the unconscious a feeling of guilt when it is used as an expression of love apart from child-bearing. This may later on make the woman confuse frigidity with virtue in her marriage relationship, and make the man feel that he must find satisfaction for his lower nature outside of marriage, since seeking it in marriage is a violation of

his wife. It may give to the woman an unconscious feeling of self-sacrifice in participating in the sexual act, so that instead of its being a joyous act of creative love for both man and woman it is to her a concession for which she has a right to demand payment—either the kind of payment received by the prostitute; or that more conventional marriage support; or, as often happens, an overpayment of devotion from the man, for which she makes no return in kind.

There is another danger with young people of to-day: sensing our fears and repressions they may decide that we know nothing whatever about life, and, in their desire to be more free than we, they may rush blindly into all such experiences mistaking them for the realities of life. We must hold clearly in our minds the fact that the value of sexual experience is in proportion to the depth of feeling that accompanies it. If the higher feeling values are established between man and woman, then sexuality becomes a heightening of the beauty of the relationship and a stimulus toward a fuller expression of the whole individual.

Sexuality must follow feeling, not feeling sexuality. Sexuality is therefore an asset, contributing to the vitalizing of the life force, or a liability which must be met at the cost of the higher self, in accordance with the attitude of the individual. It is of value in proportion to the strength and understanding and reality of the relationship—an understanding which must include a realization of what are its responsibilities, its human values in our conscious life, and its compulsive forces whose roots are in the unconscious.

When we have done our best in clearing our own minds

and in helping the young person who is near to us, we must again and yet again remember the great and mysterious calls of life and of the irrational elements against the misuse of which the strongest bulwark is a fearless love of truth. Even our own child may be the one to be swept away. In this case we must stand ready to help him not to forget but to live through the experience so as to gain understanding. We cannot afford to forego the value of any experience which is accepted and understood. Through such understanding must come to each of us at some time in our lives a knowledge of the terrific powers of good and evil, and of that fire of the gods which either quickens or consumes.

In reckoning with these powers of the unconscious we must bear in mind all those collective images and archetypes which are a part of our psychic inheritance, and which are also a part of our collective social life. These forces from the collective mold us from without as well as from within. We bear within us the imprint of collective evolution. Whether we are, by personal creed, Christians or not, none of us can escape the deep impression that Christianity has made upon our psychology. We are unconsciously influenced, not only by all its spiritual quickenings, but also by all its mistakes. To understand these we must first understand the degree of sensuality in the Roman civilization, from which Christianity was such a liberation.

Christianity was a violent protest for the life of the spirit which had been engulfed in the most degraded sensuality. In the revolt the emphasis was carried to the other extreme. Perhaps the greatest wrong that the early Christian church did to humanity was this separation

of the body from the spirit, dragging down the one in order to enhance the holiness of the other.

Christ preached no such doctrine. For him, "they shall become as one flesh." From the time of St. Paul, whose sexual neurosis became engrafted upon the body of the church, the cleavage between the spiritual and the "carnal" became ever greater, until it culminated in monasticism with its repudiation of life itself. St. Paul's fear of his own sexuality was the basis of his attitude toward women, and toward marriage as a concession to the lower man. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands for this is the will of God concerning you," and the advice to men that "it is better to marry than to burn" have remained a stumbling-block in the path of understanding. His fear became glorified, and so has remained a part of our collective psychology.

Our fear of the body swung over into an overemphasis of the importance of the body. Through this false attitude it became easier to forgive a sin against the spirit than a sin against the body. Conventional relationship "sanctified" by law was accepted even though in that relationship all the laws of the spirit (of love and human sympathy) were violated; or as an alternative a sterile, life-denying love was glorified. A violation of "bodily chastity" was punished by ostracism for the woman, or accepted as one of the carnal necessities for the man, without any reference to the quality of the feeling which caused it.

Space does not permit a discussion of the differences between masculine and feminine sexuality nor of the way in which these differences have influenced our collective attitudes. Deeper understanding of this subject is im-

portant for all of us who wish to face the changing attitudes of the present age.

Now that the pendulum has swung the other way we must build up a true attitude on the basis of an understanding of relationships, and of our unconscious impulses. This cannot be suddenly done. We cannot leave the building of a road until it is time to embark upon a journey and then expect to find safe and easy going. From earliest childhood this kind of sex education must be carried on.

The child who learns that he can get the thing that he cries for, the one who sees that when she is sick she will be the center of attention, and who knows that she will not only have mother's attention during the day but also father's special care in the evening, and who learns to use this power, is learning to make use of weakness in order to exert power in the name of love. So-called adult forms of love are often only a desire to possess the beloved object in order to satisfy a sense of personal need. Fainting and hysterics used to be a woman's power weapon over her husband. The germs of false relationships are laid in childhood, and only when we begin from the first to demand sincerity from the child shall we have the attitude that makes in later years for a genuinely adult understanding of a sex relation.

Our general attitude toward life and our attitude toward sexuality cannot be separated. We cannot choose where we will build strongly and where we will disregard, for all the threads interweave to make the human pattern. Emotions are far harder things to understand than algebra and geometry, yet we spend hours in elucidating mathematics and expect such a problem as that of human

relationships to solve itself. The child with a power attitude toward his childish relationships will manifest this power desire in his sexual life later on. Insincerity and inability to face the truth in questions of daily conduct will result in inability to face the truth when he comes to deal with those forces within himself that go to make up his attitude toward sexuality.

Deep in our unconscious we still cling to the belief that only the acknowledged thing has power, therefore if we do not admit the existence of a thing even to our own conscious minds, that thing is to all practical purposes non-existent. Some people, especially women, may go through life with unawakened sexuality and think themselves the gainers, but by just so much as they have remained unconscious of one of the great forces of life, by just that much have they failed to live, and by just that much is their power for understanding and usefulness in their human contacts curtailed. Children and young people feel instinctively this lack of understanding, and do not bring their sex problems to an adult who has refused recognition of these forces within himself.

Once more when we come to the study of so-called perverted forms of childish sexuality we find ourselves involved in a study of the development of relationships. Premature sex relations which make themselves manifest in early childhood are usually due to an environment not suited to normal psychological development rather than to organic predisposition. Many of these perversions are due to the holding over of childish emotional content which should have been utilized at the proper time, and so have left the interest free for more adult adaptations. So much has been written on this subject both in support

of Freud and in disagreement with him that I shall take these matters up briefly.

I have said that the first relationship that a child has is with himself, with his own body; here he finds his first toy. There are certain pleasure zones, certain sensitive parts which give him keener sensations when touched than do others. The genitals are especially responsive in this respect. At first they are not so apt to attract his attention as his toes. Fortunately for the baby no one has yet tried to find a sexual significance in a child playing with his toes, although the foot has been accepted as a phallic symbol. He is interested in his fingers, in his toes, in all of his body. Frequently he discovers the genital region and contact there gives a different and more pleasurable sensation. Therefore if he has once experienced the pleasure that comes from touching this region he is likely to continue it.

Sometimes very young infants have a habit of masturbation. Usually this habit disappears of itself. It can often be corrected by arranging the bedclothing so that it is difficult for the hands to come in contact with this part of the body. Later on, masturbation in some form (whether of rubbing with the hands or pressing these sensitive parts together or of various other movements of the legs) is apt to make its appearance.

We are wrong to consider masturbation as a single type of act, always carrying the same consequences. Its importance, like that of most other acts, depends upon its roots in motive both in the conscious and in the unconscious. It should not be unduly emphasized. The sense of guilt that comes from a reproof or punishment is far more injurious than the habit itself. The greatest

danger from masturbation is that it tends to isolate the doer, either through providing him with a means of short-circuiting his emotions through self-satisfaction, or because the act calls up phantasies which tend to separate him from a world of reality. In the latter case he can find satisfaction without having to make genuine effort.

If a sense of guilt is attached to this act and the child is made to feel that in some strange way he has committed an unpardonable sin, he becomes immediately isolated by that sense of guilt. The consequent sense of inferiority separates him from his fellows; he is driven back into his phantasy world, and masturbates to call up the phantasy. With each return to the masturbation the sense of guilt is deepened, and so a vicious circle is formed, isolation and guilt constantly increasing. Yet the fascination also grows, for the phantasy exercises more and more compensatory power. The best way with a child of this type is to speak of the habit as unwise because of the sensitiveness of the organs, and then to try to find out the phantasy which is occupying the child's mind and to lead him back to reality contacts. Dwelling upon the masturbation, giving it undue importance, or attaching to it a sense of guilt, gives it increased power.

With another type of child the sense of guilt leads to a repression of the act itself, but the feeling of horror which has been imparted makes the abstinence an almost obsessive idea. A little boy was brought to me for various mental tests. He gave me the impression of a person who talked continuously for fear he might betray his thoughts. In the word association tests he answered with great rapidity, paying little attention to the word given but saying the name of anything on which his eye lighted.

Whenever such a word as *touching* or *rubbing* or *handling* was given the emotional confusion was so great that he could find no word—his mind went blank in a panic.

This child had been trained by an overconscientious mother never to touch the genitals. He did not know their function but had a deep fear of the guilt of such an act. Sometimes if his hand came in contact with the genitals he would ask anxiously, "Did I do anything wrong?"

In this case the real obsessive idea was the mother's fear of sexuality, which quite unconsciously found its expression in the careful overtraining of the boy. His unconscious caught all the fears which she did not intend to express, but with which her unconscious was filled, and the boy concentrated them all in his attitude toward masturbation.

The thing of primary importance was the mother's attitude. She had many repressions dating from early childhood. Her own mother had had no real relation with her father, and during most of her girlhood the mother and father had been living virtually separated lives. The mother had lived in phantasies of martyrdom and saintliness which had not prevented her from being in many ways a good mother and a useful person, but in the way most needed, in the way of preparing her daughter for her own adult relationships, she had failed because she had never solved her own problem.

The girl had suspected her father of relations with other women, and the mother, while never openly accusing him, had hinted at this as the cause of her unhappiness and had warned her daughter against "the animal nature in man." Her own sexual relations she had regarded as a

concession to this necessary evil, and though in her conscious attitude she appreciated her husband's love she could not repress fears that her mother's unhappy history might be repeated in her own marriage.

When her boy was born she projected all these fears upon him and was determined to save him from growing up like her own father. She had to face the fact of her identification with her mother for whom she had a passionate attachment, understand that a full share of the responsibility lay with the mother who had, according to her own account, contracted a loveless marriage, and had never had the courage to face the consequences in the open.

Here the false attitude had reached out to clutch even the second generation, and this little boy was being made to suffer for the sins of his grandparents. In this case practically no time was spent on direct work with the child. When the mother's attitude changed the child obtained relief from the obsessive fears which were the chief factors in his neurosis.

In masturbation are bound up many phantasies of creation from the self. On the physical plane it is not only a short-circuiting of the emotional content, but sometimes a means of creating a feeling of self-sufficiency. Often it is used when a young person feels inadequate to perform some task which calls for all his forces, and at times the act has apparent value as a release of energy. It is, however, only a substitution for reality and for the truly adult attitude. The adult attitude could utilize this energy in a direct attack upon the difficulty that now demands the whole force of the libido.

When the habit persists into later life, or when an

adult returns to it, there is indicated a regressive tendency of the libido which seeks a retreat in childish adaptation. Life is too lonely, or too hard, the task of forming adult relationships too difficult, or the demands of adult thinking are too taxing to the mind that loves to live in phantasy, so there is a return to the easy way of self-induced physical satisfaction or of phantasies which, called up by this method, provide a retreat from reality.

Another problem which many mothers and all teachers must at some time face is the problem of homosexuality. This word has come down to us so overweighted with sinister import that many of us are afraid of the mere sound of it. Its simple meaning, as we all know, is love of a member of the same sex. Its germs may blossom into friendship.

Often homosexuality is an overemphasis of a normal desire which has been thwarted in its attempt to find its true and natural expression. This causes a damming up of the emotional stream, the proper causeways are stopped up and the stream overflows in the wrong direction.

A young girl of fourteen was reported as moody, unsocial, slovenly in her school work. She showed signs of nervous disturbance, jumping and starting when spoken to. She was often found in one of the empty classrooms and would show symptoms of guilt when found there which were out of proportion to the trivial nature of the offense. She was described as furtive and shifty, though there were no actual charges against her. She was fond of hovering around certain teachers, one especially, and this was described as "a sort of clumsy calf love." She had also been found caressing one of the children, and had appeared so confused that a suspicion was roused

that something wrong was happening. At times, when she was asked a question she would blush, stammer, and become too confused to answer. The girl's manner when I met her was a mixture of fear and defiance. Quite early in the course of our conversation she found herself caught in an evasion which she knew that I had recognized. Her eyes were full of defiance. I put my hand gently over hers and said:

"I am sorry that you are afraid. Was it something that I said?"

She shook her head.

"Then was it something that came inside yourself? I would be glad if you could tell me. I think I could help you, and you see I don't want you to be frightened, not by me nor by yourself."

Her answer was to throw her arms around me in a violent caress. There was something repellent in it, almost like the demonstration of a little animal, but there was also a revelation of a hunger that had to be appeased. One cannot criticize the table manners of a starving man who suddenly sees food. Here was some terrible flooding of the emotions that had been restrained by some evil means. It must be carefully met, but not turned back upon itself.

As we went on together she revealed to me a phantasy life that was to her both revolting and compelling. The thing that had come up when she had evaded my question was a sudden shifting of her interest to a distinctly homosexual phantasy about me. Such phantasies were a part of her daily thought life. The sudden realization that I had recognized this terrible inner being who filled her with fear, and that I could still be sympathetic broke the im-

mediate power of that special phantasy and relief was sought in an emotional outburst. Usually the feeling content had found no outlet except in furtive ways or in a deepening of the phantasy. At first she had called up these phantasies in a mild form for the pleasure they gave her when she felt lonely or neglected, but now the phantasies called her up and took possession of her.

This is the terror of the unconscious—that we cannot measure the strength of the forces that we are calling up. If we give ourselves over to the images invoked the time may come when we shall be swept away by their mighty force. When the images from the unconscious can command us, then we have stepped across the threshold into insanity. This child had a growing terror of these phantasies and an ever-increasing sense of guilt because of their appearance, though she was of course unconscious of what it was that she really feared.

The first step was to separate her from the identification with the phantasy and to break the sense of guilt. To do this it was necessary to find out what had caused the life stream to turn in the wrong direction. Here again we came upon the parent-child problem, and the unsolved problem of the parent. It was the failure of the parents to face their own difficulties and to solve their own relationship which had acted so disastrously in the child.

The mother was an intensely ambitious woman who had married a gentle, lovable, rather ineffective man. She herself was unaware that it was her unconscious desire for power that had led her to "fall in love" with this easily dominated personality. Since she had identified with her own masculine adaptation to life the pull of her unconscious was all toward the apparently feminine qual-

ities which he displayed. She had at first given all her energies to the task of trying to advance him in his profession, but since he had very little desire to advance and cared far more for the life of withdrawal, her attempts were not attended with success. Then contempt entered in.

It is not possible to give any of her inner processes, for she was unwilling to face them, but in her anger toward his "laziness" and toward the child for failure one could read much. Then, too, if one is trained to see these things one frequently catches figures from the unconscious peering through the mask of conscious personality. In this way, and from the revelations of the child's dreams where it was plainly shown that the problem had been intuited by her unconscious, it was possible to obtain material to warrant the drawing of conclusions. Since the child resembled the father far more than the mother and continually reminded her of him she projected much of her buried animosity upon the child.

The mother was a handsome, brilliant woman, in a hard sort of way, and the child adored her. She exerted a fascination over her and could reduce her to tears by her sarcasm, or fill her with emotional excitement by some careless caress. When the caress was returned she repulsed the child, making her feel as if she had committed some crime. She made fun also of the child's show of affection for the father, so that the child had a sense of guilt even at feeling affection for him. All the mother's libido had gone into power. Through this power she was compensating for what, to her, was the wrong done to her pride by the father's failure to obtain worldly success.

I do not mean that all this was done as crudely and

openly as this brief statement would imply. Her acts were often masked under the guise of "trying to make the child amount to something." All bodily needs were scrupulously cared for. Food, exercise, care of teeth, dancing, were all provided. Material provisions were of the very best; but the one thing most needed, a loving understanding of the child's human needs, was lacking. The child was starving for love. Since she had never had the experience which should have come to her as a little child, she still craved the infantile forms that should have been lived through.

In making her relation to the analyst she had therefore to go through a most infantile stage of affection. Since she had repressed these desires from her conscious, linking them with a sense of guilt, the repressed emotions went down into the unconscious, and lived their life in regressive phantasy form. It is of interest to note that many of these phantasies took forms quite unimagined by her conscious. They rose unbidden as do dreams, and went their way undirected by her ego. She felt that she was responsibile for them and yet that they were not hers. They were products of the collective unconscious, for the phantasy had retreated to deeper and deeper levels.

The saving factor in this case was the father. It was not possible to tell the mother anything of her daughter's phantasy life. She would have considered it a sign of sexual perversion and would have increased the child's sense of shame. The father, however, could, and did, face it with the child. It was not an ideal solution, for he was still compromising with life. He had not the strength to bring his own problem into the open with the mother, and even if he had done so he could not have

accomplished much while she was unwilling to face herself. Through establishing a real relation with his daughter he gave her a reality in her feeling world besides the sense of reality which she received from the analyst.

She was old enough to have an intelligent attitude toward her own psychological task. To bring up the buried hatreds and to let in the light of the conscious upon the unconscious resentments took much courage. A strong transference reënforced her own strength and she made a very good adjustment. The phantasies ceased and she could use this released energy in the service of her conscious demands.

This was one of the cases where analysis cannot work the miracle of change of circumstance. The relationship with the mother, to which every child has a right, could not be established because of the mother's self-love. The girl's path to womanhood has not been an easy one. The dragons from the unconscious have at times returned in varying forms, but her progress has on the whole been steady. In this case homosexuality was clearly only a result of an unsolved normal relationship, a condition for which the child was not herself responsible.

I have given the case in detail because it shows how deeply buried are some motives and how far beyond the child's conscious control. In this child the escape from reality took the form of a phantasy but, in a more aggressive type, the wounded and outraged feelings might have found their release in acts. Then the child would probably have been turned out of school and branded as a pervert. The influence of such a child is, we must admit, like a subtle poison in a collective group, but the

guilt is that of the parents who refuse to face their own lives.

In every school, especially in boarding schools, this factor has to be reckoned with. There are several elements which enter here. The segregation of the sexes plays an important part, the relationship of the pupils to the teachers, and another very important but often ignored factor, the number of pupils who are in the school because they have no real relation with their parents. This is especially true of the younger pupils. There we always find a percentage who have been sent away from home because their parents found them in the way in their own lives, or were unable to make the proper relationship with them.

I remember meeting one of these mothers. She was looking tired and distraught, and she bleated, "Children are such a responsibility, don't you think so? The boys have just been home for their holidays and I find it such a strain to be a mother. Of course they are at boarding school in the winter, and at a fine boys' camp in the summer. You see I believe in companionship for young people, but I do try to give myself to them in the times in between, and with all the other things one has to keep up (one *mustn't* let one's own life go you know), it really is a tremendous responsibility. It all comes to me. Their father is no use at all but then one must expect that being a mother." I have tried to put down her words exactly as I recall them.

Further conversation showed that the "responsibility of being a mother" involved giving a certain number of theater parties sandwiched in between her own, and letting them have friends for lunch, at which times she

was frequently absent, and in propitiating the cook. Of times of real companionship there was no suggestion. With such a foundation for relationships would it be very surprising if the emotional element went astray when some violent attachment was felt for a chum or a master?

The boy and the girl who can find sufficient release in athletics and constant activity are in less danger from morbid phantasy, but they are open to all sorts of suggestion. My plea is that should we find children who have gone astray in these matters we should not render judgment upon the act, nor treat the symptom, but should investigate the underlying causes and place the responsibility where it belongs. This is frequently not with the child himself.

Before we condemn let us remember that neurosis is a result of maladaptation and does not mean inferiority any more than it implies real superiority. It is a struggle between two opposing forces of the personality. It is resolved when these warring forces make peace. This may be done by yielding to either of the opposing sides. A boy, therefore, who habitually masturbates and has no sense of guilt is not rendered neurotic, but he rarely seeks help. It is a harder task to change the adaptation of such a child because the existing one is found satisfactory.

In cases where the physical pull is unduly strong and the boy or girl is oversexed, we must help the young person to accept this fact as something for which he is not responsible, any more than he is responsible for the color of his hair or for being born with blue or brown eyes. The problem is to recognize the physical condition and consciously to reckon upon its influence.

A girl who is oversexed and who is consequently dis-

turbed by physical sensation is especially apt to feel a sense of humiliation or inferiority. This tends to separate her from life. She should be helped to see it as a handicap for which she is in no wise responsible, but also as a danger since she has the ever-present temptation to misread physical excitement into terms of love. Such girls frequently masturbate, and if the practice is only occasional it should be treated casually.

The question of homosexuality in schools leads us to the consideration of the emotional life of the teacher. The greatest safeguard which a teacher can have is a well-balanced emotional life of his own. Again I would repeat we cannot give from poverty, but only from wealth. A teacher who is emotionally starved is reaching out to be fed, and this reaching out often takes the form of a great unconscious urge. As a jellyfish sends out its tentacles so the unconscious sends out little invisible tendrils to catch and hold the thing for which it craves. The child should not feed the teacher, but the teacher the child. Yet often teachers who have no life of their own outside the school make their love of the children a possessive thing. The crushes of adolescents are often called into being by the teacher's unconscious desire for love and admiration. For a teacher to have the love of the children is a tremendous asset, but it is not enough that we should be able to inspire love, we must know what to do with it when we get it.

Analysts know that it is a great problem to understand how to receive the transference: that is, how to accept and direct the emotional stream which is pulled up from the unconscious in this intimate personal relationship which must have for its foundation the love and trust

of the patient—a love and trust which will carry him through the maelstrom of the unconscious and give him courage to face the thing that he most fears in himself. A strong love is needed. Much of this love does not belong to the analyst personally, for the very circumstances of the analysis often do not permit the forming of such a personal relationship. Nevertheless the reality of the feeling must be respected; it must be received and made a valuable asset in the working out of the problem of the patient. To repudiate love only turns it back upon the giver, and the emotion is apt to retreat to the unconscious.

So a teacher cannot repudiate the love of a child. She must receive and direct it. That is one of the responsibilities that her position forces upon her whether she likes it or not. There are teachers who with an unconscious love of power find satisfaction in stimulating the love of a child, and then feel at liberty to repudiate the affection. Of one such teacher I heard it said, "Many of the girls adore her but she won't have any crushes; there is no danger of anything of that kind with her." As a matter of fact the danger with her was twofold, both in the type of love inspired and in the fact that it was frequently turned back upon the giver, so calling up feelings of humiliation and hatred and rendering harmful that which should have been turned to good account.

The woman herself had never outgrown certain adolescent attitudes. She had never accepted the fact of middle age nor arrived at its maturity of outlook. The adoration of certain girls administered to her vanity, to her sense of being young, but she permitted it only when its expression did not bore her. Her love was not called out by the child's need. In such cases waves of unused emotion

are apt to sweep through a group and lead to undue sexual interest or homosexual manifestations.

There are emotionally starved people who try to blind themselves to their own lack of personal life by an overbalanced attitude of conscious service. Sometimes a life which denies the emotions is chosen, quite deliberately, but then the unconscious has its revenge through growing bitterness and narrow-minded intolerance. It is this which makes the unsatisfied older person such a dangerous guide and companion for the young. If one awakens too late to a sense of life's values, and there is a feeling of futility and hopeless loss, the conscious attitude will often seek compensation through unconscious envy, and a desire to destroy the thing that is no longer attainable.

Since so much of the real education of young people comes from relationships it would be well if we could have teachers with more experience of life even if it meant less intellectual attainment. A plea might be put in here for summer living instead of summer school, and for such material recompense as will attract a live teacher with a fair method rather than a dead teacher with a method irreproachably modern.

Let us try to look behind existing sex manifestations to the underlying conditions of relationship, and to the inner attitude toward life, and not attempt to consider sexual difficulties as things in themselves, apart from the whole psychological attitude.

CHAPTER X

DREAMS

In dealing with the subject of children's dreams we are confronted with the danger of turning the interest of the child back into the realm of the unconscious. We cannot therefore investigate the dream in the way which our scientific interest demands. We must not create in the child a feeling of being separate or different, nor stimulate tendencies toward morbidity and introspection. A process which draws up material from the unconscious and makes for greater consciousness in the adult is only too apt to make for greater *self*-consciousness in the child or to give too great emphasis to the phantasy side of mental life.

Life for the child should be, so far as we can make it, a natural and spontaneous development. He has individual problems enough in his daily life of conscious adaptation; for new adjustments are demanded every day and the simplest life is full of new experiences. Yet no matter how full of outer experience life may be, phantasy quite rightly insists upon having its place. This is as it should be, for the proper balance of the individual. We have already shown how this phantasy life must be utilized through the proper development of the imagination, and by linking the childish phantasy with those universal ones that underlie poetry, myth, and fairy tale. Too great an absorption in the individual phantasy arising from a

disturbance of the normal psychic trend only tends to separate the child still more from the life of reality. Such absorption may come through attempting to probe too deeply into the dream life.

With the adult we can analyze the dream and through the dreamer's associations arrive at the understanding of the dream symbols. This method can be used with a child only in certain instances and then with greatest care. As is shown in an early chapter, many of the child's problems are the intuited problems of the adults by whom he is surrounded. The dream shows these problems which should be considered in helping him but which should not be raised for his own conscious consideration since the responsibility for their solution is not his.

The picture which is so vividly presented is frequently not one which we can discuss directly with the child. The person who holds the father or mother image has a tremendous influence on the unconscious of the child and the form of this influence is often shown by the character of the dream. Where we cannot analyze the dream with the child we must take up the problem with the adult who holds the power over the situation.

If the child himself is conscious of some great difficulty of adjustment, a dream may be interpreted as a self-made fairy tale illustrating his conflict between regressive desire and the more adult acceptance of his task, but we should be careful always to do too little instead of too much in this dealing with unconscious material. We must never vivisect the mental life of the child for the sake of verifying our own deductions. If we cannot get a simple statement of the problem from the child or verify our deductions through the analysis of the adult

involved, then we must be content to go without the desired knowledge.

We must, therefore, be content to go slowly, to amass material in indirect or other natural ways, and gradually to sift our evidence as connections come to light of themselves, drawn up by the bulk of the evidence.

The choice of the way lies with the conscious. The unconscious merely presents the problem, pulls it up into the light so that it may be examined. The acceptance of the task and the choice of the new way to be followed lie in the conscious. Analysis, therefore, does not solve our problems but merely presents them for our inspection. If we prefer to remain childish, swayed by insincere and unworthy motives, we have the choice and may do so, but most of us desire the more adult way when once we see it, though we may trick ourselves over and over. The dream shows the problem, sometimes in a very veiled and fantastic way, sometimes with a vividness or humor of almost unbelievable clarity.

The dreams of children seem to be singularly vivid and simple. As a whole, they have fewer confusing details. They have often a naïveté in the way in which they hand out a secret. The dreams of rather infantile adults have the same pictorial quality. Some patients present dreams which tell the story humorously in a few clear strokes without being at all aware of how graphically their unconscious is presenting their hidden reactions, resistances, or infantile emotions. Such dreams have the truth-telling quality of a fable. With very neurotic children there is often a greater intricacy of detail, as is also true with post-adolescents. There is such a wealth of imagery and such frequent beauty of detail in the

child's dream that we cannot doubt that in the unconscious lies stored up for him a vast accumulation of that precious material from which poetry and painting have been born. Very interesting work remains to be done in helping the child to make use of this myth-making material which lies within himself.

In presenting the dreams I have tried to select those whose meaning could be drawn from a knowledge of the conscious life of the child or from an analysis of the problem of the adult concerned. However valuable a collection of dreams may be in showing special trends in the unconscious at certain special periods, yet there is great danger in attempting to classify dreams through content rather than psychological association and meaning. The real value of the dream lies in its relation to the conscious of the dreamer and its bearing on the problem which he is facing at a particular time. No matter how well-substantiated a theory we may have formed in regard to types of dreams we must be prepared to abandon it at the first hint of its unsuitability in any individual case. We cannot force anything upon the patient. The unconscious is a cunning and skillful craftsman selecting just the symbol needed for the individual at the special time, but the value of the symbol is not a fixed and definite thing in itself. It lies in the relation of the symbol to the dreamer.

Since, as we have said elsewhere, the psychic life of the child is so closely linked with that of the parent, it is often difficult to distinguish whether a dream is really a portrayal of his own psychological condition or a picture of an intuited parental problem. Often the dream shows the failure of the parent and not that of the child. So

keen are these intuitions of the unconscious that the dream may be a mirror of the parental unconscious. Jung has told of a case where he analyzed a man who had great difficulty in making conscious his psychological problems. He did not see below the surface of things nor did he dream. His little son had a very strong relationship with him. So complete was this psychic identification that the child dreamed the father's problems, and the parent's analysis was conducted at one time through the child's dreams.

The following are a few instances of such dreams:

"I was sitting on the floor playing with my mother. We were both playing with toys. My mother had on a little girl's dress. Then the door opened and a great beast came in."

This portrayal was uncanny in its vividness. The mother was, metaphorically, playing with toys. She had never made an adult adaptation to life. The relationship with her husband was breaking and the security of the home threatened because she really wished to be treated, not as a wife and comrade sharing the responsibilities, but as the favorite child. Her own little girl was a sort of doll to be petted and played with when it suited her but thrust aside when she became interested in other things. This childish attitude on the part of the mother opened the door to the beast who might devour the security of the home.

An older patient told of a dream which, in varying forms, had haunted her childhood. She had a recurring terror dream of meeting a woman who had big feet like a man. The first time that she remembered the dream was when she was about seven years old and the details

were not clear, but as nearly as she could recall it she was going berrying and saw, in the field, a woman who was also getting berries. She was going to speak to her when she noticed that she wore a very long dress and from beneath the skirt protruded the very large feet of a man. She was terrified and woke shrieking. After that, at more or less regular intervals, she would dream of a woman who had the feet of a man. She did not remember anything else that terrified her in the dreams but even as an adult she felt a curious sense of panic when she saw a woman with unusually big feet.

In her associations she recalled the phrase "putting one's foot down" though she did not remember having heard her own mother use it. The mother was an extremely masculine type with a strong will-to-power. The whole household stood in awe of her. She spoke of her father, of whom she was indulgently fond, as unobtrusive. "I remember," she said, "that whenever there was an argument he would just seem to melt away." All the children were more or less neurotic and unable to break away into independent life. It is not necessary to elaborate the dream symbolism as it was revealed in all the associations, but clearly the terror was of the overmasculine mother who could not control her own power devils.

A terror dream told by a ten-year-old girl clearly shows the family problem.

"My mother and I were in the apartment and we heard a great noise in the hall. We ran out and found the hall full of rough men. They were throwing all the women and children out of the window. One dreadful looking man came for me. Mother begged them not to throw

me out. Then one said to let me go. I ran downstairs and the street was full of women and children lying all in heaps where they had been thrown out of the window."

The father and mother were separated. The father had injured the family by dishonorable acts, taking money, etc. He appeared at the home occasionally and both the child and the mother dreaded him. The child looked to the mother for care and protection as is shown in the dream. Also her fear of men was here clearly portrayed. It was necessary that the mother should separate her personal problem, her mistake in choice of a husband, from the general problem of man's relation to his family. The child must, with the mother, courageously face the fact that it was as an individual that the father had failed. If the psychological causes for this failure could be found and made clear, so much the better, but in any case the father's act must not remain in her mind as representative of the masculine character, otherwise she would be unable later on to form any true relationship with a man and her life would be overshadowed by fear and distrust.

Here is one of the situations that must be faced in the open. The unpleasant truth must be acknowledged and the sin of the father discussed as his individual failure and not as something to be hidden. If it is not faced it may remain in the unconscious of the child, there to become a father imago which will be a standard for the child in her judgment of all other men. The problem must always remain a problem, but in the light of its conscious acceptance it has not half the menace that it has when left in the dark of the unconscious. If the child can make a father transference to some other

relative, or to a friend or teacher, this may furnish the solution.

Often with the death of the father or in case of separation, either actual physical separation or a spiritual separation of the parents, the mother makes too great demands upon the emotional nature of the child and threatens its individual development. In such a case the child is in danger of being devoured, swallowed up by love. In one such case a mother lavished devotion and demonstrative affection upon the youngest child. She could not leave her for even an hour or two without coming back three or four times to kiss her and assure her of her love. The child dreamed: "I was out in the street in a big city and there were lots of bears and they were all chasing ladies, and a little bear came up to me and when he said that his name was 'Mama,' I was so frightened that I woke right up." The humor of the unconscious is illustrated in this dream, for the mother looks like a gentle and humorous little bear. The child is continually dreaming of little bears.

These intuitions of situations are not always confined to the important family problems but sometimes are amusing illustrations of how the undercurrent is sensed by the child's unconscious. When these are intuitions of passing events which are not of great moment to the child they do not rouse any emotional reactions of fear or apprehension. In such instances I have found that the child had a good feeling rapport with the person involved in the situation.

At one time the principal of a school came several times to visit a special grade. She was quite frankly there for the purpose of seeing how certain results could

be more efficiently obtained. Though there was no conscious change in the teacher's manner with the class nor any attempt to limit their usual freedom nor to change any part of the usual program she felt the undercurrent of strain. A child who was very fond of her announced one day:

"I had such a funny dream. I dreamed that we were in school and a funny little man was there all the time. You made us sit with our legs straight out in the air till we were so tired. You made us, Miss X."

Since the atmosphere of that room was very free and happy and the children ordinarily felt no restraint the child was struck by the absurdity of the situation. She had of course felt all the strain of that special situation which Miss X was trying not to let appear in her conscious attitude.

In another instance a teacher who was especially loved by the children encountered the wrath of a parent who insisted that her child, a little ten-year-old of very slow mentality who had been injured in her proper adaptations by constant pushing at home, should be rated as a "bright child" and recommended for advancement in a type of work for which she was not fitted. There had been several stormy encounters with efforts to carry the matter to higher authorities. When the term reports were ready for mailing this teacher said to a colleague with a good deal of anxiety, "When Mildred's report reaches home I see my end." The children were not present when the remark was made but the next day one of them said, "What do you suppose I dreamed last night? That Miss A was killed in Mildred's house."

These are only amusing little incidents but they do

show how the unconscious of the child registers the unspoken difficulties of those with whom he has a relationship.

A dream carrying a much greater affect was the following: "I was out in a boat, way out in the middle of the ocean. Then the boat turned over and I went down and down." In this case the child had everything that love of the two parents could give him but the mother had not found her own adjustment to life. She was haunted by vague fears, and had a sense of insecurity. She was often full of apprehension which she could not formulate but which undermined her coveted contentment. These unfaced fears, which rose from the sea of her own unconscious, were registered also by the unconscious of the favorite child.

Before passing on to other types of dreams I would mention an unusual type of dream which has been known to occur with both children and adults, the dream where the intuition is of a coming event of importance. On this I cannot comment, but its existence cannot be ignored. I will give one striking example.

An eight-year-old child awoke sobbing violently. When the father came in to her she said that she had dreamed that her grandmother was dead, that she had seen her dead. The details of the dream were not discussed. She was in such an agitated state that it was difficult to soothe her. The father assured her that the grandmother was perfectly well and that it was only a dream which meant nothing. A week later they all went to visit the grandmother. When they reached their destination they were met by a messenger who told them that the grandmother had died suddenly while they were on their way.

Where the affect is very great we may consider that the dream has special significance. This significance is usually a purely psychological one, not a prophetic one as in this case. Sometimes a dream, apparently most trivial and commonplace, will intrude insistently upon the waking consciousness. We can then be quite sure that it deals with something of true importance for the dreamer.

Often problems interlock and the dream which quite clearly states the child's problem also gives that of the parent; sometimes in a process of identification the child repeats in his own life the problem of the parent. The following dream clearly portrays the phantasy life of the child which permeated all her conscious adaptations. "I was the daughter of the King of England and my father was king and he had a great golden throne with high steps, and one day he came down off it and I climbed way up and sat on it and my father came back and said, 'Why did you climb up there?' And I said, 'I want every one to see how high I am.' "

She was an only child, the mother was dead and she had a strong identification with the father who indulged her in every way. She had been brought up with a strong stress on conscious virtue, everything was done for the sake of being good herself and for approval, not for the joy of doing it or for the pleasure of the other person involved. Each thing connected with her relationships was thought of as something to enhance her own prestige. She was fond of telling how her mother had been in a coffin. The dramatic element of this impressed her more than the loss of her mother. She also talked frequently of the importance of her father's position. If she could not get attention for specially good work she would call

attention to its extreme poorness in the hope of receiving approbation for her beautiful modesty. The dream was, therefore, on its face, simply a portrayal of her own desires and beliefs about herself. It was, however, more than that, for the father's problem had been the same. All his life things had come easily to him and he had, without exertion, been considered the prince of the family and the one for whom all others must give way.

There are frequently dreams that simply, and often humorously, illustrate the child's immediate problem without raising to the light buried things of the unconscious that are beyond his present stage of development. We should learn to make use of these dreams with the child himself. These dreams may be discussed with the child as a self-made fairy tale with its own little special moral made for his own little special self. To illustrate; a little girl of eight told the following dream:

"I was walking with my mother and I saw a little ball and I started to pick it up, and my mother didn't seem to think I could but I did and I started to pick it right up but it grew and grew and it popped out all over my hands and I got mad and dropped it and then it got small again and I went to pick it up and it got big and then I was mad and went away."

This is an amusingly clear statement of her own problem in connection with any task. She flies at it without much thought or any regard to advice; she is quite sure she needs no explanation of any difficulty before beginning; she has tremendous self-confidence in her approach but at the first difficulty is impatient. Then the task begins to look impossibly hard; she drops the ball, perhaps a little encouragement makes it seem small again;

but another difficulty appears and she "gets mad and walks away." Her attitude is always that it is the fault of the task, not her own fault. That is to say, the ball has grown big, it has played an unfair trick. She does not look at her own responsibility in the matter. This child is a delightfully humorous and friendly little extraverted intuitive. She was quite capable, not only of understanding and enjoying the dream, but also of applying it. She had a sufficiently friendly relationship to make the little joke between us a cordial bond, not an impertinence on my part; so, when the dream had been explained and she had discussed it with a good deal of intelligent interest, it was possible thereafter when the quick, impatient discouragement appeared to say, "My how that horrid ball is growing!" or if there were others about, to merely give a friendly smile and make a ball of my hands, whereupon there would be a little grin in response, and a new attack. I do not mean that this dream magically obviated the difficulties, but it did help in raising and facing the problem.

Sometimes in these dreams which deal with the immediate problem a part can be discussed with the child and the rest must be taken up with the parent. The following is an illustration of such a dream:

"I had a little pony all my own and I rode on it all alone where I wanted to, and I went to my grandmother's house in B and it seemed very nice, but when I got there the garden was all full of buffaloes and I thought I would climb a tree away from them. But great big elephants flew right out of the trees and I woke up all frightened."

This child had an insecure relationship with her mother for which she compensated by an attitude of cocksure-

ness and obstinacy. She was very anxious to go her own way and was resentful of criticism. She also had fears that seemed to come upon her suddenly, and night terrors. She had a very strong relationship with her grandmother whose "baby" she was. Here the horse is her libido, it is her own way. She rides it all alone and where she wishes to. There, quite clearly, is her own attitude in her conscious life. She wants to go her own way alone. So far as adult control is concerned, she wants no help nor interference. She is, however, very infantile in her independence, she is not ready yet for the way that she demands. Her horse, therefore, takes her back to the grandmother where she can exercise the authority in the most infantile form. This, in the dream, "seemed very nice at first" as it does to her in real life. But it was not the way that she should go, hence come the beasts that beset her path. She makes efforts to get away from them; that is, instead of trying to conquer her difficulties she tries to get into some other place where she will not have to meet them, she climbs a tree off the solid ground. But this, too, is unsuccessful, in fact it is even more disastrous for "great big elephants fly right out of the trees" and she awakes "all frightened."

In this dream the child's own part of the problem is clearly stated. She must not only try to conquer her own difficulties but she must be willing to accept the guidance of those who know the way better than she does. Her little pony cannot yet go his own way all alone. If he does there will be strange and unnatural beasts to be encountered. It is nice to go back and be a baby at grandmother's, and at the same time to have her own way, but she is too big a girl to take that baby way of

seeming grown up. She cannot get away by pretending. That only makes the beasts grow bigger.

The other part of this dream belongs to the mother. Clearly the child needs a surer relationship with her. The retreat to the grandmother is not only an actual act, but it indicates also a regression into the too infantile attitude. In many dreams the grandmother symbolizes this retreat. Where the child makes this type of relationship with the grandparent it carries still greater weight in the unconscious and results in an identification that is even harder to break than the parent-child identification. In this case the grandmother had been overindulgent but the mother had demanded too much. In her efforts to keep the child from being spoiled she had been overstern. There had not been a deep enough bond of comradeship and understanding. The child questioned every step of the way, not only in this matter of authority but also in matters of information. She was impatient of explanations even when her own questions indicated a real desire to know and understand. Often these questions were irritating and made demands on time and patience, yet they could not be brushed aside. They had to be dealt with, and a discrimination made as to their values. The confidence and trust needed to be strengthened in the mother-child relationship. The dream therefore belongs to both the parent and the child. For each is a new way indicated.

A child who was overcome by fears, who was failing in her school work, especially in all group work, brought the following dream:

"I climbed a tree and went out on a limb. It seemed all right but I kept feeling funny as though it were rotten,

you know. Then I got way out on the point and it broke and I dropped down, but I dropped right into water, and my head was way down; and I came up and there was a great fish who said, 'this is my ocean' and I was frightened and tried to get to land and I woke up."

She was an only child whose mother married late and who feared that she would never have children. Her whole life was bound up in this child. From the time of her birth she watched over every moment and even worried all the time she was in school. The child had no confidence in herself and the slightest criticism was enough to make her so nervous that she was almost unable to work. She was the embodiment of her mother's fears. This dream shows the insecurity of her own attitudes and the fear of being swallowed by the mother.

Analyzing the dream with the mother made her see how the child's life was being undermined by the overcautious atmosphere by which she was surrounded. A change in the mother produced an entirely new attitude in the child. The fears decreased rapidly until a spirit of almost tomboy venturesomeness set in as a reaction from the old timidity. The school work also improved steadily.

There come to children and to adults as well dreams that are undeniably important messages from the collective unconscious. So little material of this sort is available that it is difficult to draw conclusions, but many dreams present striking mythological symbols, or repeat experiences that are tribal primitive rites which have great significance for the individual yet which are completely unknown to his conscious. Also at a time of very great significance when a decision must be made or a

crisis is approaching, such dreams rise out of the collective. Jung has said, "When the way of life forks before us and we are confronted with the necessity of choosing irrevocably, and also in moments of great danger these superhuman figures of our own Fate come to gently tap us on the shoulder. Such a dream from the collective unconscious is a *memento mori.*" It is to be expected that with children these dreams should be comparatively rare and closely guarded, for a child normally is not confronted by these moments of fate, yet should the occasion arise the dream may come even to a comparatively young child.

A boy of twelve was brought face to face with a decision which he felt to be of great importance. He had been an invalid and necessarily guarded in many ways. He was sensitive, and failures had made him fearful of new situations. An opportunity came for him to enter a school which would give him the training which he greatly desired but the head master, while saying that he would give him a chance, also said frankly that he felt that the school was too difficult and that with his poor health the boy probably could not keep up with the requirements and advised his not entering. While the subject was under consideration he dreamed the following dream:

"I was in a great hall. There was no furniture except a bare table behind which sat a very old man. He looked ages old and had a long gray beard. In front of him on the table was a dice box. Just back of him was a clock which pointed to two minutes of twelve. Not a word was spoken but as he looked at me I knew that before the hands of the clock reached twelve I must throw

those dice and that all my future life depended on the throw. I looked for some one to help me and then, as I looked at the old man, I knew that I must throw the dice myself."

So deep was the impression made by the dream that he refused to discuss the situation but went off by himself until the decision was made. He decided to take his chance of making good against the odds, and the result justified the decision. Quite clearly this was the figure of fate risen from his unconscious to emphasize the importance of the event and to warn him that he himself must decide his own life and abide by the results of his own decision. As an illustration of the significance of the details of the dream, the hands of the clock pointed to exactly two minutes of twelve and the head master had written that he might have two weeks to decide.

Another boy was having difficulty in making his adult adaptations. He dreamed that he was on the athletic field and knocked out two front teeth. He saw them lying on the ground in front of him and stooped down to pick them up and put them in again. His instructor said, "Don't do that, if you do you will never grow up." The dream impressed itself so by its vividness that he repeated it, though it seemed mere nonsense. In reality it was a portrayal of his own situation. In many primitive tribes one of the ceremonies of initiation when the youth ceases to become a child and takes his place among the men of the tribe is to knock out the two front teeth. In his dream he tried to pick up the teeth and put them back. In reality he was trying not to accept the initiation into adult life but to remain a child. His instructor, who in the dream took the part which would have been taken

by the medicine man, says to him when he would put back the teeth, the childish attitude, "Do not do that or you will never grow up."

The following dream was brought me by a little eight-year-old girl. This child was curiously remote. She rarely played with the other children in a whole-souled way. The children, for the most part, shunned her. If possible they never took her hand or chose her as partner. If they were walking in pairs she always seemed to be shifted to the end of the line so that she would be alone. She was a deceitful child, often cheating for the sake of appearing to have done good work, and her teachers accused her of petty theft. The mother was a frivolous little woman who left her mostly to the care of an ignorant nurse. Her sole duty as a parent seemed to be summed up in the hope that she would be "nice and not know anything that she ought not to." She considered all sex knowledge nasty and had punished the child for asking questions that were about "things that a nice little girl does not talk about." The child dreamed:

"I was with my nurse and she had short red hair, and it grew and grew and it grew and it got grayer and grayer and it was Miss X and she was ironing and there was a pool of water down by her feet (here she drew a round circle with her hands) and I had to put my head in and it was boiling and she said, 'Ha! that hurt you!' "

In certain tribes of Congo Africa where cannibalism continues the primitives select a victim for the sacrifice. If an adult the victim is killed with a spear. If a child he is held head downward in boiling water till dead. This child was set apart, the sacrifice. The part of her that belonged to the tribe, that is the community life in the

little class life which she lived, was being devoured by the misunderstanding of the mother. Her first sense of separateness came when she went to school where her teacher was Miss X who had abundant gray hair, hence Miss X in the dream stands by the pool of boiling water into which her head is thrust.

Here is a case where the child is deceiving and cheating because she cannot get in the proper and normal way the instruction and love and approval which she craves. Her knowledge must be obtained through underground channels, thus building up an attitude of secretiveness. Since so much of her conscious is drawn down into the consideration of these mysteries she has not enough power of attention to solve the small matters of daily classroom demands, the attention is focused on these other problems. Yet she feels the injustice of disapproval and cheats in her work in order to gain some standing in the eyes of the class. Since in one important department she must satisfy her needs by devious and tortuous ways, she applies these methods to other needs.

The great difficulty in such cases is that the real need, the establishing of the proper relation of love and trust between the mother and child, cannot be accomplished because the mind of the mother is closed. A substitute must be found and some adult must stand ready to answer questions. After establishing a friendly relation with the teacher and asking various questions, and discovering that things could be brought up into the light and discussed freely, she began to attack her own problem of honest work, and her attitude became more friendly. As she advanced in comradeship and trust she lost her

deceitful, secretive manner. The dream problem had been worked through, she was no longer set apart to be devoured by the primitive prejudices and attitudes of the mother.

Strange figures of fate sometimes appear and we, in our ignorance of their import, may treat them as foolish phantasy and of no consequence. One deeply introverted child of the creative type would become lost in a world of her own. So deeply withdrawn was she that even when her name was spoken it did not always rouse her. She was reported as inexcusably inattentive and terribly stupid. The first task was to find out what was going on. I could obtain conscious phantasies after the early establishing of friendly relations but there was something more important. It was very evident from the child's manner that here was a carefully guarded secret, a something more real than our reality, a subjective reality more vital than anything which the objective world could offer. That it had its origin in a dream or was founded upon dream content I soon became convinced, from the very evident agitation and consequent withdrawal which occurred whenever the dream was mentioned.

First the child was made to realize that in the eyes of the psychologist as well as in her own, the school work was of minor importance, it was the reality of the compelling factor in her own mind which must be considered as vital. After the rapport was established there was an opening of the doors into her phantasy world, but still the way was guarded. First came the less important material which was always told with an air of watching to see the effect, and with a wary expression as though ready for retreat at any moment.

The father was away from home most of the time. The child saw very little of him and he took little interest in her since she was obviously not bright. The mother was oversolicitous as to the child's progress and clothes and exercise but angry that fate had given her a child different from the other two. Failing to find the understanding at home she had lived in a phantasy of being an adopted child and of having real parents who would find her some day and show every one what a lovely little daughter she really was. The mother figure was hazy but the father became so real as to be the ruling image of her life. She masturbated when dreaming of this figure. Every test showed a subnormal intelligence unable to do the work required and the phantasy had become her retreat.

But this phantasy, no matter how alluring, could not account satisfactorily for the combination of terror and fascination which was apparent in her periods of complete absorption or when the subject of dreams was mentioned. It became more and more evident that she wished to confide in some one if only she could be quite sure of complete understanding. At last one day it came, a recurrent dream. "There is a woman. She is very tall—very, very tall, and she stands straight in front of me. Whichever way I go she stands in front of me, and she nods her head—she always nods her head, just as if she knew something awful about me."

This figure had come night after night in her dreams and now was forming part of her waking phantasy life. Masturbation called up this figure and the consequent terror, yet she masturbated habitually. She had been punished for a very obvious form of masturbation but

now produced the desired result by sitting half over the edge of her chair and with slight apparent movement pressing the edge into the genitals. In spite of her terror of the figure its fascination was apparent in that she continually resorted to masturbation to invoke it, for the terror was also mixed with desire, the desire to retreat to that world of the collective unconscious. The dream apparently came nearly every night and she waked in terror.

One day she came in a condition of fear and excitement. She was reported as having done nothing in school all day "even the things that she knew perfectly well." For a long time she would not talk. Then she burst out: "I met Mrs. S on the street and she nodded her head up and down, up and down, and the woman who comes at night has a face like Mrs. S and my mother says that she was in a crazy house."

Now the figure of the dream was openly identified as the personification of the collective unconscious, the loss of the objective reality and the retreat into psychosis. The figure in the dream nodded to her, knew and shared her secret, and had grown so real as to produce an actual hallucination.

There was release from the fear after this confidence and a sympathetic talk which helped her to laugh at this special hallucination. Some progress was made in objectifying the figure through connection with fairy tale and myth and she was helped by having more hand work and a change of curriculum. Her doctor did not consider the dream of importance but the subsequent history bore out the diagnosis. The family moved to another town but later information showed a progress of the symptoms.

She had become known as queer and defective. She withdrew more and more and it was evident that this dream figure was like a foreshadowing of the coming of her fate.

Though we must be careful of putting our own interpretation on the dream symbol yet it is legitimate to recognize that there are symbols which have been used by the race for many ages to express certain spiritual ideas. When we find these symbols in dreams of arresting interest it is fair to assume that they are of special importance in indicating a psychic stage of development where a new need has arisen, and that this message from the collective indicates the new way.

The dragon figures in all mythology as the old and regressive attitude which must be slain before the hero can be reborn and can enter into his inheritance of adult power. So, also, the descent under the sea, the entrance into the dark caverns of the deep, the being swallowed by the great fish, all portray the reëntrance to the mother's womb that there may be a rebirth into a new and finer attitude. A young girl of thirteen who was having great difficulty in giving up an adaptation of extreme childishness and dependence, dreamed that she was bathing with some very little children. They were all naked in the sunshine on the bank of a large lake and were diving in. Suddenly as she dove she saw before her a great black shadow in the water and knew, rather than saw, that it was a huge fish with mouth open like a cavern and that she was diving straight into the black void. Here was her problem. She was on the bank in the sunshine. Her companions were very little children; even in the dream she was conscious of how much younger

they were than herself. She feared the separation from these too childish companions and the sunny bank of childhood yet if she was to grow up she must dive off this safe sunny bank and the childish attitude must be swallowed by the monster in order that the new adult attitude might be born.

The snake is usually the symbol of sexuality yet in certain dreams it may appear as fear. One child who had a very low threshold was afraid of the dark which, to her, was peopled with strange forms of terror. She was afraid of strange people, of new situations, etc. She had difficulty in talking of her inner thought life. At this stage she had the good fortune to be in the care of an unusually sympathetic teacher who always talked quite simply of any questions that might arise, whether of sex or of fear or of childish misconduct, that might be misunderstood and so carry an overweight of shame. The atmosphere of the classroom was one of happiness, understanding, and success. One day the child produced the following dream:

"I was at my desk. The floor opened and there was a big hole. The desk went down and I went too. Then the desk stopped and I went on. There was a passage that was underground. There was a snake, black with yellow spots. I walked right down his mouth. I walked all around inside him, and then I walked out again and I came right out into bright sunlight."

Here, quite evidently, was an indication that the unknown terrors had been investigated, the monster had been explored and she had come out into the sunlight. It was significant that in the dream she had been seated at her desk for it was in the atmosphere of the schoolroom

that the monster had been rendered harmless. Not only were any questions of sex and of fear dealt with very simply, but also in this class much attention was paid to the myth and folk tale with as much interpretation of the underlying symbol as the children were capable of comprehending. In this way the monsters of the unconscious were robbed of some of their mysterious terror and the collective images which so often haunt children were treated impersonally. This had had its effect on this child without there having been any special reference to her own terror images that rose from the collective in dream and phantasy. A little while after this dream I had a talk with the mother. She spoke of the child's improvement at school and said, "She seems to be doing very well now in her work, but I have noticed, too, that she does not seem to be so afraid of things and she sleeps so much better."

Another child who was still beset by terrors of the unknown told with some reluctance yet evident relief this dream: "It was way in the woods and it was night, and it was all dark and I heard big drums go boom, boom, and I was afraid and ran and some things caught at my feet and I couldn't see anything but I could hear drums all around and I was so frightened that I woke up." Here one can hardly fail to catch the beating of the tom-toms, the darkness of the jungle and the strange unreal terrors with which these forests were peopled to the superstitious mind of the primitive, the "things" clutching at her feet in the tangle of the jungle.

Where the dream touches deeply buried content or deals with some frequently recurring mythologic symbol intuitively felt to be of great import, or is a form of per-

sonification of a haunting terror, it is especially hard to get the child to tell the dream; and if any undue pressure is exerted a fabrication will often be given. It is quite right that this should be so for such dreams are of utmost importance and should not be given out where they may be misinterpreted and their true value destroyed or, worse yet, that they should be turned back to act as elements of destruction instead of construction. It is, therefore, a true instinct which bids the child to guard these secrets.

The primitive has the same instinct in guarding the treasures of his collective unconscious which, in his case, have been formulated into tribal taboos and ceremonials. Elaborate stories of imaginary rites and ceremonies have been told to gullible explorers, and to missionaries whose unsophistication in these instances seems greater than that of the childlike savage whom they are observing. One anthropologist tells of how a native whose confidence he had gained referred to various elaborately related tales of customs as "words to fool the old sheep," the old sheep being the long-bearded missionary. In the same way children will often safeguard their defenses by a silence that can be broken down only at the expense of the rapport, and at the price of future ill-feeling; or by a fabrication which also breaks the rapport but which, in addition, gives the child an undesirable sense of superiority in having outwitted the analyst.

A child upon whom constant demands of extraversion were made had a very beautiful dream on which she wove a phantasy which she called "The Dream of Beautiful Things." Into this she incorporated much that acted to her as spiritual compensation for the too-crowded life.

From the heart of this she made a little song. One day when she thought she was alone she was singing this and was overheard by one of the other children who demanded to know what it was. On her refusal the mother was appealed to and the child was spanked for obstinacy. On a repetition of the punishment she invented something utterly different from the real phantasy. Then and there was born in her respect for a lie as "a very present help in time of trouble." It was not till many years later that she realized that the justification for the lie lay in the fact that the questioner had absolutely no right to an answer. The sense of injustice was not cleared up. She never referred to the matter and the mother undoubtedly forgot it but the child never did. It remained an obstacle to an understanding relationship all her life.

We must be content to take only what is given to us willingly and never to force confidence. Insight into these dreams depends as does everything else in analysis, upon the transference. Trust and friendship must come first and we must await the drawing near of these confidences as the bird lover waits for the shy things of the woods to come to his hand, knowing that a single move on his part may make the wild thing take flight forever.

Sometimes, when the transference has been established, a device helps with a small child. With one child I built a "house of dreams" out of blocks and out of each window looked a dream. First I chose a window for my dream to look out and then he chose one. First we had pretend dreams, then, very warily, real ones began to creep to the windows. Still the one we wanted, a recurrent terror dream, would not come though I could feel it creeping nearer and nearer. At last, after several

days of play, he put his finger on the window that he had called "that window." "There is a man there," he said, "he is the man who comes at night. He has something in his hand all made of ropes, something to catch me. He comes nearer and nearer and sometimes I run away and he runs after me, and then I can't run any more and then I wake up."

This child (a boy of seven) suffered from a physical handicap both in his walking and his speech. He felt bound and limited by these circumstances that were not of his own imposing. Often when he was trying to do things like other boys he would have a feeling of powerlessness and then would take refuge in rage or in domineering actions. They were the only things that could give him back his sense of self which had been crushed by defeat. The man of this dream was not like the figure of fate which came to the little girl mentioned in this chapter. This figure was the personification of his own feeling about his impotence. It lost power by being talked of, but much more when outer conditions were changed so that he was not continually confronted by a sense of failure.

To this child I could explain the figure in so far as the explanation would help him in the adjustment which he himself had to make in self-control and directed effort. I told him that the man was part of himself that wanted to tie him up so that he could not do the things that he should. We discussed his tempers, etc., as the wrong way of trying to get out of the ropes. In this way he learned to vanquish the man by understanding. In this case there were no symptoms that showed the predisposition to psychosis. The figure was not the monstrous

one of that strange world of symbols. The figures from the collective are apt to be great of stature like the giants of olden myth. There was a different feeling in describing this figure, it had a different spell. It could be exorcised through understanding.

Jung has stated that the cosmic dream, or the dream of the moon or stars, or the embodiment of the great forces of the universe, is very common in childhood. Personally, I have not found many examples of this though these dreams do occur. Usually they have been told me by children who had not a very good conscious adaptation to their surroundings. A rather striking example is the following which was dreamed by a little six-year-old child who was emotionally strangely remote, and who had a very strong will-to-power which made her unable to make any simple childish relations.

"A tall, tall woman, taller than the houses and taller than the trees, and when she walks every one runs out of the way and tries to hide. And she has a big stomach, and people and houses and baby mountains are all in her stomach, and she spits them out of her mouth and then sometimes she steps on them all and smashes them and then she makes more in her stomach."

This was first a dream but it obtained such a hold over her imagination that it became her favorite story which she told over and over. It was obviously the dream of the powerful creating mother who brings forth and destroys with equal indifference. It held a fascination for her because she, too, liked to destroy. She was fond of being with a cousin whom she would fill with fear over her stories which she made him believe. She loved first to incite credulity and then to fill him with humili-

ation by laughing at him. The figure of her dream and phantasy seemed to have become hers by a process of imaginative identification. Figures of imagination will often exercise a powerful spell over children, as I have noted in the chapter on the imaginary playmate.

Several children have brought me dreams of being on the moon; sometimes it is a pleasant bright place but very lonely, and sometimes a very bare place with queer animals in it. Usually they look down on the earth, or see stars go by.

Sometimes these dreams show everything as of gigantic proportion as in the old mythologic tales of the origins of the world. Children who have these dreams seem to have a sense of their own littleness, often a feeling of insecurity in their human relationships. The real world also is apt to assume terrifying proportions.

The following are dreams of two children who both lived more or less in a world apart. The former had a very insecure parental relation, the latter was an eerie child who preferred to play with imaginary playmates and who had also a strong will-to-power:

"I dreamed that I woke up and all around my bed were tall, tall men, so tall that they went right through the ceiling and up into the sky. And I was frightened and screamed and mother came in and there weren't any men there at all."

"Mother was buying me an ice cream cone; suddenly something funny came along. Then we were in the ocean swimming. I felt a queer thing in my face and it was a lobster. We caught it and took it home to cook it, and it splashed and splashed. Then it began to grow and it grew and grew till it overflowed the kettle and water was

everywhere in the house. Then it grew and grew and the house was full of water. Then the kettle and the house and everything in it and Mother grew and grew, all except me. Then I tried to reach up and get Mother's hand but I could not get it."

The following dreams were dreamed by children who seemed to have no special interest in the subconscious world nor any difficulties of adaptation.

"I dreamed that there were a lot of suns and they were whirling round and round in the sky and I sat on a star and watched them."

"I dreamed that I was on a hill in the sunshine and all of a sudden a beast looked out of the sky and he grew bigger and bigger and he was all over the sky and he was going to swallow up the world."

One day when talking of these dreams of children a woman told me that during her childhood she had frequently seen beasts appear in the sky and that these beasts grew to gigantic proportions; but in her case there was nothing terrifying in the apparition. It might at first be the head of a little dog that came poking through and became gigantic but even as it grew she felt no fear.

The following dream contains an element of the well-known phantasy of destruction of the earth by the falling of all matter into a great void. In this there is, beside the collective content, a distinct link with the conscious personal problem, for the child had received the old-fashioned idea of hell and had read with fascination the Biblical descriptions. This dream came after an act of disobedience which she had not regarded with great seriousness during the day but which assumed terrific proportions when she was in bed in the dark:

"I was in the kitchen and my mother asked me to do something and I said, 'I won't' and then one night I dreamed that I was in the kitchen and there was a big black hole that grew bigger and bigger and then there wasn't any kitchen any more but it was all a big black hole and everything was falling into it, all the houses and all the trees and everything in the whole world. And I tried to run and something butted me from behind and it was the next-door billy-goat only he was big as an elephant. And he butted me and he butted me and every time he butted me he said, 'Won't you? won't you?' And he butted me to the edge of the hole. I could not see the bottom but everything was falling in. And then the billy-goat was at the bottom, only he had great green eyes and big horns and he didn't look like a billy-goat at all. And then something began to pull me and I fell in and then I woke up."

This became a recurrent terror dream except that the detail was not always repeated, but there was always the great black pit and the beast that pushed from behind and a force that drew from below. It became to her a symbol of universal destruction and as such remained with her.

The dreams of defective children are frequently filled with details of cruelty and gruesomeness. This seems especially true when the conscious life is full of gentleness, acquiescence, and negation. This type of dream is also present in more exaggerated form the more the child is confronted with a sense of failure and of indifference. Even as a dog tied continually will tend to become fierce, so a child who is psychically tied by an inferiority sense or a sense of impotence will develop

desires for the assertion of power even through channels of cruelty. Often when the conscious has been educated into a sense of "goodness" and gentle expression, the power instincts run riot in the unconscious and find their expression in the dream and night terror.

A little girl of nine who was mentally about six had been trained in habits of obedience and outward consideration. She had also an overpowering feeling of personal responsibility for her own defects. She had been contrasted with a sister a little over a year younger who was a rather precocious child. Though the mother tried consciously to be just yet her strongest feeling was of hurt pride. She was constantly warring between the desire to keep the child out of sight because she was a source of humiliation, and the effort to do her duty and make the child one of the family. This often resulted in her actually thrusting the child into positions of unwarranted prominence in order to satisfy her conscious desires for martyrdom and self-approval, instead of accepting the real situation and trying to find ways in which the child could function without undue strain. The child was apparently submissive and acquiescent, but awkward, stupid, and unresponsive. In reality she suffered tortures from her continuous sense of impotence. Her sleep was restless and though she rarely cried out she often waked trembling, or got up in the morning heavy-eyed and apprehensive. She produced many dreams of the following type: "I was walking along the street. There was a big crowd. I was frightened but I went up, and there was a woman who had been killed and been cut up and the blood was all spurting out and it was running all over everything and there was a knife and I picked it up and

I jabbed it into her and some more blood came out." "I saw a dog and he was running down the street and he was all cut open and his paws were cut off and he was all bloody. I was walking down the street with M (a little neighbor) and there was a girl run over by a car and she was all squashed and the blood was running down in the gutter and I stepped right into it." In most of these dreams there was shown a desire to participate in some way, to step into the blood, to draw the knife and stick it into the dead woman. Though the dreams gave her fear and horror, it is also quite evident that they gave her a form of satisfaction. That the woman in the dream personified her mother and the maimed dog her own maimed functions is quite probable, but in such a case it is most unwise to try to establish the truth of such assumptions by getting the child's own associations since our task is to place the responsibility upon the adults who are in charge of the situation, to make them conscious of the problem not only in so far as it concerns the child himself, but also cognizant of their own inner adjustment to the hostilities aroused in their own unconscious. The actual situation must be accepted and they must see wherein they are trying to make the conditions administer to the good of the child or where they are influenced by undercurrents of personal ambition or wounded pride.

Sometimes the dream is so clear that the child herself makes the associations and finds relief in doing so. A child of very retarded mentality who also was handicapped by the constant comparison with a brilliant younger sister brought the following dream: "I dreamed about Martha and Ann [two little friends]. Well you

know Ann was going to be killed because she had killed her mother that morning, and we were all going to the cemetery together in a carriage, Mother and Martha and Ann, and Ann had to be killed before we got to the cemetery, and Martha said that she was glad that Ann had to be killed because Ann told lies. I said that Ann ought to kill her mother because her mother does like Martha best and when Martha tells things about Ann her mother spanks Ann and she ought to kill her. So Ann had to be killed. She had two bright knives, and she said, 'Shall I commit suicide?' I said, 'Yes do. Just stick the knife in here [pointing to the heart], just stick the knife right in, jab it in, *jab it!*' And Mother said, 'Turn your eyes away, Alice, I don't want you to see such things' (just like Mother she always talks). So she did jab it in and when we got to the cemetery she was all bloody, all dead and bloody and they took her out and they took her down cellar and it was a Catholic Church and the priest said, 'Martha, would you like to read the Bible?' and Martha said, 'Oh that would be great fun,' and then we had a great time."

"What did you think about your dream when you woke up?"

"Nothing."

"What do you think about it now?"

"I think that Ann ought to kill her mother." (A long pause.) "I'm not going to talk any more."

"Are you thinking about your mother?"

She turned away so that I could not see her face, then suddenly burst out in great excitement turning back and looking at me with blazing eyes, "My mother isn't fair either. She believes Julie and Julie lies."

"What would you like to do?"

"I would like to run away."

"Would you like to do anything else?"

"I can't tell you. Its something that I can't tell."

"I think you can."

"Well I would like to kill her, I would like to kill her very often. I ought to kill her, she is not fair. Then I would like Julie killed too. I often want her killed. I would not kill Father, only if he punished me I would run away, I would run away and then come back (a pause). Then I would have a baby brother."

The content of this dream is of course too clear to need comment. It was followed by a burst of rage against the mother. Up to this time she had always spoken of her mother with overaffection, but she had kept away from her a good deal and had not confided in her. This outburst seemed to help clear the air. The part of the father with the birth of the baby brother was also entirely obvious with its jealousy of the mother and the desire to have a baby by the father. The father was very proud of the younger child and tried to compensate to this older one for lack of comradeship by physical demonstration, which was of course the worst thing that he could do for her. He was proud of the cleverness and quickness of the younger child and delighted to take her about with him and to talk to her and enjoy her developing mind. Since he could find none of these satisfactions with the older child he tried to pretend to himself, to her, and to every one else, that he was equally fond of both by petting and caressing her. She was physically rather overdeveloped and, in a purely animal way, very pretty, and all her latent sexuality was fed by this treatment. She was,

however, conscious in a confused way that this was not as real an affection as that which he gave the younger sister. She would try to attract his attention by showing off for which he always rebuked her, or she would bring to him attempts at lessons with which he always found fault. She, therefore, had no means of obtaining his attention except when he petted her.

For a long time her dreams were full of killing, of cutting up people, and of dismembering animals. These dreams grew less frequent when she was placed in another school where she was not contrasted with her sister and where in special classes she was taught the simple things that she could do. Gardening, care of animals, and simple handwork gave her more normal interests. A complete change of attitude on the part of the parents and consequent change of environment in the home seemed to produce a change in the type of dream.

Quite frequently I have noticed that the night terror and dreams of cruelty seem to increase in strength in proportion to the amount of conscious repression exerted in the daytime; this is true even when the repression is of a nature that involves a fair degree of conscious control, but a control that is at war with the unconscious undercurrents of rebellion and with a sense of injustice. These undercurrents must then be dealt with.

One small boy who was given to fits of violent rage in which he tore like a whirlwind through the house often throwing things at his small brother and sister or suddenly destroying some bit of treasured property, had occasional night terrors. When under treatment he began his struggle toward conscious control the night terrors increased in frequency and violence. They became a sub-

stitute, draining off the tremendous excitement which had been in the habit of finding its outlet in the volcanic eruptions of the rages. This same interrelationship of dream and conscious control I have noticed in enough instances to make me feel warranted to speak of it as a real connection to be taken into account in the consideration of such cases.

It would be of great value both for the study of the adult and of the child if we could have a collection of earliest remembered dreams in order that we might see if those which were especially compelling, whether isolated or recurrent dreams, were indicative of the psychological type and therefore of use in determining the predisposition of the individual and so indicating the best way of helping him to fulfill himself. In such a way dreams might be spoken of as prophetic of the coming individuality.

A deeply introverted patient had dreamed as a child that she was in a sphere of glass suspended in space. As she sat there, isolated and yet able to see out, the glass gradually changed so that although it was still, to all appearances, the same clear substance it had lost its actual transparency. It became increasingly difficult to see through, and at last completely shut her off from the outer world. This was somewhat the process which she had followed in her life history, withdrawing more and more deeply until her contacts with the outer world were lost. This type of dream is prophetic in the psychological, not the superstitious sense. It shows within the child the germ of the thing which is to be born; it indicates the tendencies and points out the dangers; but it is not an assertion of a blind fate that must have its way. This

dream was a recurrent one. It came over and over, always with intensity and deep significance.

Had some understanding person been able to use that dream as an index to the inner nature of the child, many of the difficulties of later life might have been avoided. The history of this child's early life was one of conflict in adjustment to two worlds that seemed to her immeasurably far apart. Her fears, her imaginations, her questionings were laughed at so that she early learned to hide the things that really mattered. Much of her adjustment to the outer world became a disagreeable duty, not a delightful adventure to be met with happy curiosity. Of course she retreated farther into her own phantasy life whenever she could. She was known as an anti-social child, inattentive, difficult, a daydreamer. As she grew older she withdrew more and more and when, in adult life, she came to analysis she seemed to have completely lost her way in the world of objective reality.

Another introverted child dreamed that she was in a dark passage. Suddenly she was attacked by "tens, hundreds, thousands, etc." These creatures had no tangible form nor substance; for that very reason they were immeasurably more terrifying, and intuitively she knew them to be "tens," etc., pressing all about. Then as they came nearer and nearer, she awoke in terror. This was a recurring terror dream. It came over and over till it came to be part of her experience. This dream continued over a period of many years. When she made her free associations, the tens, etc., immediately brought to mind the round Goops of the Gelett Burgess book. These had personified in her childhood all the stupid and inexcusable blunders which one might at any time make.

"Don't be a Goop," was sufficient to throw her into a state of inner panic.

She had a great fear of the outer world and especially of drawing any attention to herself. She was divided between a desire to conform to the conventions thrust upon her by rigid family tradition and the compulsion to follow her own thoughts and inner way. There was the ever-present conflict between the inner thought life and fear of breaking "the law."

There were also associations with the time when she was being taught decimals by a governess who "broke" her of her fear of the dark by putting her to bed in an upstairs room, putting out the light and leaving her in a dark room, forbidding her to open the door. She had never opened the door. Since she had been told that this self-control was "good for her" she had acquiesced in the thought; but that same type of acquiescence had been carried into all her adaptations. She had done the things that were "good for her" and, especially when they were disagreeable, had believed them to be good. The inner life persisted in spite of the outer adaptations and increased in fear and compelling power. Her thoughts were not the thoughts of her family; therefore, though they persisted, they must be evil. Fear of hell (real literal hell as the proper home of the nonconformist) became one of the formless terrors of the dark passage. Conscious love of family was at war with rebellion deep buried in the unconscious, never faced but every now and then raising its head to appear in some strange thought that filled her with self-reproach; another form of the dark passage. In her analysis, where she explored the dark passage of the unconscious, each of these "tens, hundreds,

thousands," with its compelling terror had to be met, identified, and overcome by understanding. Then she had to find how her own way could be brought into happy conformity with the outer world, a world she learned to choose for herself. Not without any struggles is she gradually putting aside her own childish adaptations and growing up in her own right way.

Another introverted child used to dream, over and over again, that she was going up in the garret to find something that she could never find. After a long search came a baffled feeling, and as this feeling grew she became confused; till at last she could not even remember what it was for which she was searching.

In telling this dream she recalled that at one time when quite a small child she had been extremely naughty and had complained that there was nothing to do and that no one provided anything for her. Her mother suggested that she should go up in the garret and see if she could find anything. At last she went up, though reluctantly and with feelings of rebellion. In the garret she found carefully arranged some little piles of bright silks for doll clothes. She felt greatly ashamed of herself to think that when she had been complaining of unkind treatment her mother had already prepared this little surprise for her. Suddenly she heard a voice say, as plainly as though an outside person were speaking, "Now you will be good and say that you are sorry, won't you?" Then something dark rose up inside her and she answered out loud, "No, I won't!" and she stayed up in the garret.

After this she was engulfed by a sense of remorse and guilt. She felt that a choice had been offered her and that she had taken the wrong way. She had committed

the unpardonable sin in deliberately choosing the wrong, she had offended against the Holy Ghost for she had denied the voice that came to her. One can see here the deep and true quality of her introversion in that the denial of her voice (the God within) was the supreme sin. She told no one, for such children do not tell these vital inner experiences unless they have some deep bond with some one whom they feel sure will understand, but the sense of guilt remained. Thereafter in her dreams she went back to the garret always searching, searching for the lost way, the thing that she had lost when she turned from the voice within.

As she grew older she developed a tendency toward self-destruction, to destroy the thing that she created and loved. Often when she had nearly completed some lovely thing she would work on after her hand had lost its skill and by some careless movement ruin the object. All the time she was working she was conscious that if she went on she would spoil it, yet something drove her on. It was a repetition of the experience in the garret when she had let herself be driven by the blind force instead of the guiding voice. She had to become conscious of this compelling force of destruction, and to make her peace with the God within.

How much would have been saved if some one who understood the tremendous power of these images from the unconscious and who had a true relationship of love and trust could have heard that dream when it first came to her, and could have helped her to go back and find her true way.

An extraverted child dreamed over and over of a house. It was like no house that she had ever seen or of which

she had ever read. There were sunny rooms on each side of a wide hall. This hall went all the way to the top of the house and on each side was a stairway. She would go through this hall, never stopping in the sunny rooms so intent was she on her quest. At the top of the stairs was a door which she would try to open but always it was locked. Then, disappointed, she would go down the stairway on the other side and halfway down would meet a person who would say "Have you seen them yet?" Always she would answer, "No, the door is still locked," and then would wake with a baffled feeling.

As a very small child she had compensated for her extraversion by a world of phantasy. Indeed this inner world was almost more real than the outer, but as she grew older many demands were made upon her. She was the only child in a large family of old people and her attitude became that of a general mother. She, too, was troubled and careful about many things. Gradually she began to attach a sense of guilt to her thought life. When she fled to inner things, as she still did when opportunity offered, she felt that she was taking time that belonged to some one else. So the inner door became locked, for she had not the sense of rightness in entering in. During her analysis she dreamed that she saw a little door near the larger one and, creeping through a passage, came into rooms, simply furnished with such furniture as her colonial and English ancestors had used. She exclaimed, "Why all that I was looking for was under my own roof all the time!" And in the analysis she found the thing that she was looking for behind the locked door, the inner world of spiritual symbols, her own meaning of life—not the end of problems but a guide in solving them.

Another extraverted child who was engulfed in multitudinous demands, dreamed frequently that trains were "off the track" and rushing about the country. This filled her with terror. She also dreamed of a tidal wave that rose and engulfed the whole land. The dream of the tidal wave is by no means unusual. Frequently it has the import of being overwhelmed by the unconscious. In dreams the unconscious is often depicted as the sea, for it is in truth the sea from which arise the islands of consciousness. An adolescent girl used to dream frequently of seeing a great tidal wave rising to engulf them all. She would run before it in terror and succeed in finding safety on a hilltop but all below were submerged. The dream had a fearful power, and in her waking hours she could see the great wave and feel the terror. This dream began when she was about eleven and continued over a long period.

In this case the mother of the family was the typical "terrible mother" whose enslaving love threatened to swallow them all. It was the destroying force of the mother's unconscious which was depicted in the wave of the dream. The other children were all caught by it. She sensed, though she did not understand, the danger, and knew that she could never be herself unless she could get away from home. This she managed to do. She was the only one of the children who succeeded in establishing a life of her own. The brothers especially remained enslaved by their infantile attitude and were never able to break from the mother or to form a relationship with another woman.

Since I have tried in this chapter to deal with dreams which, in their analysis with either the child or the parent,

show clearly the relation between the unconscious material and the problem which at that particular time is threatening the child's normal development, I have not taken space to consider or even to enumerate certain very common types of dreams; for instance, the terror dream of the old man or the burglar so common with the young child and reappearing, especially with the girls, at adolescence; or the kinæsthetic dreams of flying, floating, falling, walking on air or water, which show the desire for the escape from reality so common with both children and adults.

Many of the dreams which we have considered are those of very young children, yet they deal clearly with fundamental problems. Such a depth of insight is far beyond the conscious ability of the dreamer. It can hardly be explained in any way except by accepting Jung's theory, which grew out of his new discoveries in analysis, the theory of the collective unconscious, that substratum which we all possess and which through archetypal images hands down to us our inherited wealth of inner life.

It makes us feel also the tremendous importance of keeping wide open the doors of sympathy and understanding in all our relationships with children, so that these vitally important things shall not be shut away from us.

CHAPTER XI

A CORRELATION OF DREAM AND PHANTASY MATERIAL

A comparison of the actual dream with phantasy material consciously produced often throws an interesting light on the relation between the outer adaptation and the inner life of the unconscious. Sometimes a conflict is revealed so that we can catch a glimpse of the way in which the underground forces are at work undermining the life of conscious adaptation. Sometimes the conscious desires which are expressed in the consciously written, but freely expressed, phantasy reënforce the unconscious desires as they are shown in the dream. Sometimes the dream, while showing a close correlation in psychological material with the conscious phantasy, indicates a needed change or reveals dangerous repressions in the conscious life.

This material must be handled with great care, for the amateur may draw conclusions quite unwarranted by the material. It must be done by one who has made a study of unconscious processes and who has also a sympathetic rapport with the conscious of the child.

Though the individual child is quite wary of revealing dreams when directly approached on the subject small children usually are interested in telling them when the approach has been simple and normal. If, for instance, the legends of the Old Testament are used for story material, such a tale as that of Joseph the dreamer will lead

quite naturally to a discussion of dreams. Any personal associations or any attempt to explore the unconscious of an individual child should be reserved for private and friendly talks. If such a discussion be followed, not too immediately, by a written composition on the subject of conscious desires or consciously expressed daydreams, these two forms of material show interesting and illuminating correlations.

The following are the related dreams and the written compositions of a little ten-year-old girl. The child in question was of the intuitive type whose feeling function seemed abnormally inhibited. She was nervous, irritable, dreamy. Her sleep was restless and she complained of being disturbed by bad dreams. Often she would insist that she had not slept all night, in spite of the fact that her mother had gone in several times and found her sleeping, though restlessly. She was underweight and ate little, fussing a great deal over her food. She had poor muscular control—twisted, grimaced, and attitudinized. Some of her work showed flashes of insight and ability but she had difficulty in subjects which required concentrated thought. Her statements were inaccurate and, though nothing definite could be brought to light, her teacher felt that she exerted a sort of underground influence that was not healthy. The first dream here given and the little compositions were obtained as school work. They were not made the subject of any comment in class but they showed such conflict between the neurotic dream content and the simple material presented by the conscious that it seemed wise for her to have some analytical attention.

She was extremely self-conscious, dramatizing her bad

nights and emphasizing any differences which made her an object of attention. For this reason it was not wise to do any psychological work which would reënforce this attitude by making her feel herself an "interesting case." Fortunately a light attack of measles kept her home long enough to furnish a legitimate reason for her having help in making up the lost work. This opened up the way for a perfectly natural discussion of her real difficulties. During this time she had the two later dreams. These were discussed very simply since she brought them herself and asked about them. She also spoke of the first dream as one that came back to her mind often.

Dream Given in Class

I went to the moon and it was full of gray apes. They were eating. I thought they were eating the moon (perhaps it was cheese) but they were not. They did not want me to stay. I wanted to but they did not want me. Then I went on till I came to a great cave. I went in and there was a great gray ape eating a banana. He kicked me with his foot and I flew out and flew to the sun. It was all fire. There were ladies there who were all flames. They were skating round and round. There was a big round crater full of fire and they pushed me in. I sat down in a chair but it soon grew too hot. Then I got up but they put me in a green cannon and shot me out and I landed on a star. There was a lady all in purple who was walking round and round the points of the the star. She said to me, "I smell a very bad smell. It comes up from the earth. It is some one who is eating bologna sausage. You must go down to earth and find the person and spank him with the bologna sausage." I did not want to go but I had to. I took the sausage and I spanked him and the sausage burst and a lot of worms came out. A lot of robins

came and they swallowed the worms but as fast as they swallowed them they came out again under their tails. Then the worms all turned into sausages ridden by little elves. One had no rider and I got on his back and rode off. I rode to Mars. There I met the devil and he said, "Your mother has a thousands pounds of gold in her stocking." Then another creature gave me a notebook and said Miss X (her teacher) had sent it. I did it and it seemed sensible while I was working but then I knew it was all nonsense, and I flew down to earth to find out.

Dreams Told during Analysis

I

I was a bird and I was trying to fly away but I kept hitting the Woolworth building. I kept flying exactly in the opposite way but every time the Woolworth building kept coming just in front of me and I would just beat myself against it. I couldn't get away. Then I tried to fly over it but I couldn't do that and then all of a sudden I sat down on it. Then I was on top of a pole and some men were climbing up to paint me with gold paint (I guess they thought I was the American eagle) but, you see, I didn't want to be and I made a great try and flew off the top. I wanted a pleasant place to land but I came down in a desert. Then I knew that I had to build a nest and there was nothing to build it of. I made it of sand and water and it felt very nasty to sit in. But I sat down in it and I had three children; and they weren't birds or eggs, but children hatched all grown up.

II

I was going to Europe. When I got on the steamer I had a great deal of trouble. First the porter dropped my suitcase overboard. Second when I got into my stateroom the bed had

not a cover or anything on it and the furniture was all broken. Then the boat sailed out of the harbor. A mile out I fell overboard and woke up to find that I had fallen out of bed.

Compositions

"What I Would Like Most to Do"

I would like most of all to be a scientist and study birds. To write stories about them and have them all love me. I would like to find a new kind of bird that can be tamed. I would like to write bird books for children and grown ups. Every Christmas I would give birds away for happiness.

"Things I Don't Like"

I don't like butter, eggs, cereal, or some kinds of vegetables. I don't like to have to sit around in good clothes and not be able to wear pants and waists, and be wild and nearly break your neck. I do not like puddings hardly at all. I don't like to stay in bed or stay away from school. I don't like to read baby books nor play ring-around-a-rosie. I don't like to play with my older sister when she is bossy.

The contrast between the conscious and unconscious material is too obvious to need comment. It immediately presents us with the problem of what is happening in the unconscious which would cause dreams of this character. Some absorbing interest has been thrust down below the threshold but is really absorbing her attention. The dreams which so strongly contrast with the composition material are, however, distinctly related to her waking attitude of furtive curiosity, inattention to the outer events, and general evasiveness. We must look for the explanation of her difficulties in the dream material.

The first two show the existence of some baffling sex problem, probably unsatisfied curiosity, and the fact that she had been searching but had met with continued failure in her attempts at solution. She has gone first for an answer to the gray apes, the sexual, the purely animal form of libido. She would like to have stayed there but they did not want her. The great gray ape, who was devouring the symbol, the banana, kicked her out and so she began her journey. The bologna sausage is quite a usual phallic symbol and is here connected with a sense of guilt. She searches till she finds the person who is making all the trouble with the sausage, but when she tries to punish him the sausage bursts and a lot of worms come out. These would suggest the thoughts that beset her as a result of her investigations. By means of the robin she tries to get rid of the worms, to dispose of the problem which has filled her thoughts.

This indicates in this particular child a natural way of trying to take refuge in conscious interests. In her normal waking life her greatest interest is in birds. This has been indicated in her composition and is also borne out in all her activities. She loves the study of birds and the care of them. Her favorite books are about them. She has pet birds, she watches for wild birds in her walks in the park. The class study of birds is the part of her school work that interests her most. This would account for the dream choice of the robin to swallow the undesirable thing. It is her own attempt in conscious life to turn to other and unforbidden interests.

Again she is met by failure. As fast as the robins swallow the worms they come out again under their tails. Then each turns to a sausage. The problem has only

been increased by her conscious effort. It is not so easy to dispose of obsessive thoughts. With the best conscious intentions, and an honest effort of will, they still remain operative. Thrust down into the unconscious they only multiply and return with increased power. Understanding, not repression, is the only true solution. Unfortunately that way is beyond the power of a child caught in such a situation. Through her search for help her problem is only multiplied. Instead of one sausage there are now many and each ridden by a little man (suggestive of the kobold, the little earth creature, the instinctive). There seems no way of getting rid of the sausages so she mounts the only riderless one and rides off herself.

She now evidently gives herself up to the unsolved problem and goes her instinctive way. Whether this giving up is abandoning herself to phantasy or takes the form of masturbation or a search for knowledge in forbidden ways could only be known from the child herself. Now, having ceased to search for a conscious solution, she meets the first person who gives her any information. Amusingly enough he is the devil. In her later references to the dream she speaks of him with an air of whimsical liking. There is nothing terrifying in this devil of her unconscious thought. Like Mephistopheles, he is rather an engaging sort of person and one who possesses the forbidden knowledge. He says to her, "Your mother has a thousand pounds of gold in her stocking."

It is her mother, then, who possesses the treasure, the knowledge which the child desires. But the mother has hidden it away in her stocking. The child feels that she cannot get it from her. Then another creature gives her a home-work notebook and says Miss X has sent it.

It seems sensible while she is working on it but then she knows it is nonsense. Another attempt at conscious adaptation has failed. She flies down to earth to see if she can find out. Her real attitude toward her school work is shown here. She is interested in it for a time, "it sounds sensible," but then she knows that it is all nonsense, that it is her thoughts that are of vital interest and that claim her attention and again she "flies off."

In her analysis when she reached a stage of real confidence she said, "Most of the work hasn't much sense. What's the use of long division, just doing the same thing over and over when it doesn't mean anything anyway. It is much more interesting to *think*." Most of us who are honest will not dispute that proposition. If we would not consider thinking more interesting than long division we admit to pretty mechanical minds.

Another element clearly shown here which is not usually sufficiently considered, is the difficulty of fixing the attention upon routine work when we are worried, or are absorbed in a personal problem which is clamoring for solution. Under such conditions we are quite ready to find excuses for ourselves, but when a child is struggling with a similar difficulty we call him inattentive and difficult. We cannot *demand* attention; we must *command* it through the interest which we rouse. Before we can do this we must investigate the causes that are operative in the child's mind, especially in his unconscious. The most interesting way of presenting a subject is of no avail when the whole stream of the attention is being drawn underground by the compulsive power of unconscious processes. This child could not escape these forces and free her interest for conscious use.

This is the first impression of the meaning of the dream. Most of it is derived from the content. This must be checked up at every point by first-hand knowledge of the dreamer. The best way to obtain this is through associations obtained from the patient, together with the knowledge which we have of his conscious attitudes. We must approach this task with open minds free from prejudice, and be ready to accept the meaning which the associations and unconscious revelations show even if we must alter some of our first interpretations.

Analytical procedure with a child is quite different from that which we follow with an adult. We do not take up the symbolism of such a dream (nor indeed of most dreams) nor do we discuss its details. Certainly a phallic symbol is not a subject for childish interest, nor is the fact of the existence of such symbolism a topic suited for childish comprehension. The dream, so far as content is concerned, is best let alone. In this case I simply said to the child, "My, what a *very* long journey you had to take to try to find out what you wanted to know about! Don't you think it would be shorter to ask me?"

There was an embarrassed hesitation, then she followed her first impulse, which was to deny the existence of curiosity. This might easily have gone on into an attitude of stubborn denial, but since we had already established a relationship of friendly understanding it needed only a little reassurance to break down the barriers. Then a flood of questions and phantasies was poured out. They were the same old questions, but with this child a genuine interest in natural science gave an added interest in addition to the personal one of curiosity. This interest opened the way for a more detailed dis-

cussion than is usual. She was interested in the dissection of a flower, of the development of life in lower animal forms, as well as in questions relating to the human child. She had acquired a large amount of misinformation from an older girl and so was intensely curious as to the rôle of the father. This detailed misinformation made it necessary to tell more than usual at first. She showed not only a great deal of interest but also a great deal of affect whenever the father was mentioned even in connection with the ordinary relationships of the home. Since so much of the false information which she had been given still persisted in phantasies, I thought this affect might be caused by some terror inspired by false details. She had, for instance, been told that babies came out of the mouth, and even after she learned the truth the phantasy returned since it had for so long a time occupied the place of reality. In the discussion of the father rôle where she showed much embarrassment I could find no such reason. There was no false phantasy. The emotion did not seem to be accounted for by the fact of her father's death. This had occurred when she was only about three years old.

After several frank talks she seemed much more at ease both mentally and emotionally and her powers of attention increased but still did not seem to be normal. The third dream, the dream of the steamer, came after all her sex curiosities were apparently satisfied. This certainly was not the dream of a child whose curiosities were satisfied or whose sense of security was established. I would again call attention to the fact that it is extremely dangerous to try to lay all of the disturbance even in such a marked case to sex curiosity. Behind the

sex disturbance is often to be found a lack in home relationships which has prevented frank discussion of all problems, whether sexual or pertaining to other interests.

The lead which she had given me was to be found in her emotional reaction to the father image whenever presented. Again I treated the subject directly and simply, somewhat in this fashion. "I know that your father died when you were very little. Sometimes little girls see their mothers feeling lonely and unhappy and do not like to ask about their fathers because they do not want to make their mothers feel badly. They think talking about it might hurt. Are there any questions that you would like to ask about your father? Children want to know many things about their own fathers."

It was harder for her to talk of this but at last she told me of her earliest remembrances. There was a vivid memory of a strange time when something happened very suddenly and her father went away and never came back. One night when she had been in bed her old nurse, thinking that she was asleep, had talked to the parlor maid in whispers and then had looked at her and said, "The poor child!" and other words only vaguely recalled which gave her a feeling of mystery and dread. Later this same nurse had cautioned her never to ask her mother any questions about her father. After this she had heard other whispered conversations between the nurse and a new maid and after these conversations the servants had been mysteriously sorrowful over her. She began to wonder what was so strange about her father's disappearance. Was he really dead or were they pretending? Was he different from other fathers, and was she also different from other little girls because of this?

The mother had been entirely unconscious of all this. It had been one of those cases where it had been assumed that because no questions were asked no questions existed. The father had died suddenly under tragic circumstances and, overwhelmed by the sudden tragedy, the mother had not wanted to speak of it. The old nurse, who was really devoted to the family, had, in her ignorance, done the worst thing possible while trying to help. First the child had to be convinced of her right to talk to her mother of all these fears and to ask questions. Then the whole thing was turned over to the mother, as it was her right, and not that of any psychologist to talk of these things. The discussion of the father and mother imago in the early chapters shows the importance of keeping the image of the parent clear in the child's mind. This child had built up a father imago which was influencing her as much as though it had been a true picture.

The next dreams and phantasies are those of fourteen-year-old girls. The class had read the play "The Seller of Dreams," and were asked to write a theme on the title, "If There Were Dreams to Sell." A discussion followed which showed an interest in dreams and the next week the class was asked to write real dreams. The dream might be one which had just occurred or one dreamed at an earlier period but it must be written as accurately as possible. I have selected three.

The first dream and phantasy are those of a very normal girl whose extraverted adaptation had made her prominent in all sorts of school activities. There was no suggestion of any nervous difficulties nor any failure in conscious adjustment in her home or school life. She was a busy, happy child, always immersed in the affairs

of the moment. Her life was filled with studies, dancing lessons, little social affairs, clothes, and the general bustle of a city life. There was no time for individual thought or for leisure hours. Every one liked her though they took her rather for granted. Two of her teachers said that they felt as though she had something very lovely, some quality that she had not yet expressed, but there was no sign of any need on her part for anything beyond the daily activities.

In her imaginary dream and in a real dream which she had a few nights after writing the phantasy, there is a strong similarity of content, but the actual dream contains an added element, a note of warning that all is not well.

"If There Were Dreams to Sell"

I dream that I am down town with mother looking for some clothes. We go into a store. A clerk brings out several evening dresses. I look them over and cannot decide which one I want. "Never mind deciding on one, dear. You may have them all." We go into a shoe store. The clerk brings out several pairs of pretty shoes. Again I cannot make a choice so mother buys them all for me. We go into many other stores and in each one the same thing happens. I am stocked up with coats, hats, dresses, stockings, and shoes for life. The next day when I go to look in my closet all the dresses and coats are arranged there and I am happy in the thought that my closets are overflowing with beautiful clothes.

Dream

"Now be sure and don't fall off your horse and don't ride through the woods," mother said. She was fastening the hook of a masquerade dress. Then I seemed to see myself on a black

horse riding through a medieval forest in my yellow satin masquerade dress and I nearly cried when I thought of the fun that I was going to miss. But I said, "All right." Then I was walking down Broadway in my yellow satin dress. I hurried down a subway entrance. In the subway there seemed to be thousands of people all fixing their eyes on me and I wished that I could tell them that I was going to a masquerade. Suddenly I saw a sleek gray cat chasing papers on the tracks. I heard a train coming and tried to warn the cat but could not. She seemed to hear it too for she jumped aside. The train stopped but I did not even try to get on. Then I saw to my horror that the cat had jumped onto the third rail and was gradually flattening out as though she were melting.

On reading the phantasy one cannot help being shocked at the absence of all the idealistic, imaginative element which is usually to be found in the daydreams of young girls, and which would naturally be suggested by such a subject. "If there were dreams to sell," this child would come back from the world of the spirit to the world of the multiplicity of things. It was this material world which was so generously given to her in her over-busy little life. Her closets were indeed filled with dozens of everything and consciously she was happy and satisfied in their possession.

The dream contains the same material elements in the details of dress, masquerade, crowds of people, but there is something altogether lacking in the conscious product which is found in the unconscious. There is the medieval forest, that sense of a poetic land which is forbidden but whose loss is felt, and this loss is realized when the crowded subway is substituted. Here she sees the gray cat and feels that the one important thing is to save it

from death. She does not even try tc take the train when it stops but is lost in horror when the cat is seen to jump on the third rail and be slowly melting away. Often in dream symbolism an animal is used to represent some attitude or function of the individual. In the analysis of women I have frequently found it to represent the feeling function. Here it would be reasonable to infer that it meant introversion which in her case was deeply buried in her unconscious, and which she was in danger of losing. That it is a valuable part of herself which is "gradually flattening out and melting away" is indicated by her feeling in the dream that the cat must be saved whether or not she take the train. When she discussed the dream in her English conference she spoke of the intensity of her anxiety about the cat. When the affect aroused by the dream seems disproportionate to the stimulus one may feel certain that the unconscious is giving a message of importance.

This child is in the position of many of our modern children in this materialistic age. There are so many obviously important things to be done that the quiet, unobtrusive things of the spirit are crowded out. Our children must be given every opportunity except the opportunity to develop in their own way. There is no conflict shown here, but there is a danger revealed, the danger that the adaptation shall be made upon a level which is lower than that which the girl is capable of attaining. In adult life such people bury their heads in the sands of circumstance and are oblivious of the deeper realities, they are undisturbed by the problems of humanity which do not touch their immediate lives, or the spiritual values of the inner world. In such lives there

is no conflict or moment of sudden tragedy. Their potential vanishes, "melts away."

The next dream and phantasy are of a very different type. Here again the two show a distinct correlation, but in this case the whole content of the dream is in close correlation with the phantasy, showing that the urge of the unconscious reënforces the conscious attitude. This girl had written stories which dealt with outgrown childish things. They were written in a sophisticated manner yet they showed a wistful desire to turn back to the things loved in the nursery days. The more adult life had not been accepted.

"If There Were Dreams to Sell"

If there were dreams to sell, I would choose to dream that I had wings and was very small, and was able to fly with the children in *Peter Pan*. Very high over daisy-dotted fields, over brilliant flower gardens, low over babbling brooks, slowly gliding upward through the cool air, to float gently above the tree-tops with the children. That would be the dream I'd buy.

Dream (occurring at a slightly earlier time than the phantasy)

I am wandering about in a little level field of low yellow-green grass by the side of a Very Nice Person. The field is bounded on three sides by a stone fence. On the third side a river rolls by in gentle wavelets. The river is a deep sapphire blue and floating on it at a distance are white-sailed boats and tiny gray ocean steamers. There is a cool, gentle breeze. The Very Nice Person and I walk about laughing heartily, doubling up with mirth at the stupidity of having a revised, instructive Mother Goose which shall be taught children instead of the old one.

Both the phantasy and the dream are simple and have no very striking content. The form in which the dream is presented is plainly too sophisticated and is rewritten with a view to the literary effect. We cannot accept it as we do the other dreams, as a naïve product of the unconscious. The fact of its having been recast has a psychological value but we must not accept it in the way in which we do the other dreams which have not been so treated. The content of the dream, we find on checking it up in conversation with the girl, is genuine; we can therefore accept that as unconscious material. The sophisticated manner in which it is written shows the conflict between the childish longings and the adult attitude presented to the world.

In both products there is an emphasis on the little childish things. It is the Peter Pan motive, the child who would never grow up; or Mary Rose who would stay in the "Island That Likes to Be Visited." In the dream even the ocean steamers are tiny. There is the little meadow, all the entourage is childish. The Very Nice Person hardly needs capitals in order to identify him with the fairy prince, the childish symbol of the coming of love which carries over into the daydreams of adolescence. This was the form which he really took in the dream but the conscious self tried, in giving it expression, to appear amused by it. Hence the name in the composition. This dream prince shares with her the realization of the absurdity of revising the beloved childish things in order to make them instructive. He, too, will gladly stay in the pleasant fields of childhood. In the Mother Goose incident there is not only the love of the nursery things but also a revolt against a too intellectual and rationalistic

standard which this young girl cannot accept. She not only tries to laugh at herself for her desire to turn back to childhood but to show the absurdity of the attitude of the adults who would push her into another adaptation.

There was no analysis of this dream with the girl but the interpretation was checked up in conferences where her problems were discussed. The conflict between her own way and the way which she felt was forced upon her had begun early. She had been asked to grow up too soon and also to grow into an acceptance of values which were not her own. Both the girl and the adults who are guiding her must accept something from this dream. The child must be helped out of a too childish way, the adults must not insist that this way be so intellectual a one. She must have less pressure and more understanding. Her great need is for a relationship which will help her to find herself.

The last example shows a split between the conscious and the unconscious which is due to the over-rationalistic attitude of the conscious. Here the attitude of the unconscious is plainly compensatory, shown in the absurdities of the dream which break through the factually minded conscious adaptation. A phantasy is impossible to this child. Instead we have an absurdly childish attempt to rationalize phantasy out of existence.

"If There Were Dreams to Sell"

Dreams are very strange things and although I have read various explanations concerning why you dream one thing or another or why you dream at all, I have never seen any that seemed at all possible when you applied them to my own dreams. One piece said that if you dreamt that you were try-

ing unsuccessfully to escape from some danger that you had a cold in your head but I have found that this is not true. Another explanation is that a dream is a suppressed wish. I do not see how this is possible as I have often dreamed about things or people that I never saw before. If I could choose any dream I wanted I do not know what dream I would take, but probably I should want to dream about doing something that I liked to do or going some place that I like. On the whole I don't think any dreams are very satisfactory as you always wake up at the interesting point.

Dream

I don't know why I remember this dream as it occurred a long time ago but for some reason it seems to have remained in my memory. I dreamt I was at the circus but instead of being among the audience I was one of the performers. In fact my sister and I were, with great success, walking on the tight rope. There was a large building near by, and my uncle and my cousins were swinging on the trapezes so close to it that every time they swung forward their feet went through the windows. I still have a distinct picture of this scene in my mind. In another early dream a band of pirates appears on the Hudson river. Their purpose was evidently to make way with all my most prized toys and I was warned by an old lady to sit on my possessions as otherwise the pirates would smell them from the river and make their attack.

I often dream that I am trying unsuccessfully to escape from some great danger, and the dream which I remember most is walking by a woodpile I saw a man peeking behind it who I instinctively knew was a villain. I woke in a frantic effort to get away.

For a child who has to her complete satisfaction disproved the value of phantasy or the existence of important

dreams these dreams had made a strangely enduring impression. She was asked for one. She produced three which had made such an impression upon her that she was not able to forget them though she rationalistically remarked upon this remembering as quite unimportant. I am aware of the dangers of considering dreams which occurred at some past time in connection with the present problem both because details are apt to be blurred or altered in the memory and because the problems of life are constantly changing and the dream material changes with changes in attitude. Yet these dreams show so clearly the divergence of the conscious and unconscious that I am giving them with due allowance for the divergence in time.

The absurdity of the dream content is amusing in view of the utter lack of whimsey in the conscious, but it is not in the absurdity that the message is written. The girl and her sister are walking on tight ropes (high ones she says afterward) and it takes great dexterity to balance upon them. The tight rope is this rationalization which is a thin, tightly drawn line on which it takes great dexterity to balance one's self. One must give all one's attention to preserving one's balance in such a place. There is no time to look at the surroundings. Any step except in the directly prescribed path will lead to a smash. This is the condition in which the girl finds herself. Her conscious adaptation is strictly rational, conventional, and in accordance with the extreme of duty concepts, but it makes no allowance for the possibility of a step in either direction. She is not really living, just performing on a tight rope.

In the next dream she gives there is a hint of danger

in this attitude. Pirates may steal her possessions—those dearly prized conscious values. Pirates are, in our phantasy, romantic robbers who sail the high seas. They are not bound by law but take their booty where they find it in the course of adventure. Curiously enough the danger is here that they may *smell* her possessions. This points to the instinctive. Animals are largely guided by their sense of smell. If she is not careful she may become natural. Some instinct may break through. The old lady (conventional traditional form, perhaps Mrs. Grundy) warns her to *sit* on her possessions, sit tight on the cherished conventional adaptation for if something broke through it would go to pieces.

In the next dream, which she said was a recurring one showing the danger to exist we see the villain peeking out from behind the woodpile. I mention as an interesting coincidence that in the dreams of many children and adolescent girls the danger is portrayed by a figure behind the woodpile. This may have been suggested by the phrase "nigger in the woodpile." Here we find that the danger continues to exist and takes the form of a man waiting in a familiar spot. The existence of the natural and instinctive is being brought nearer to her conscious, a normal condition in adolescence.

From these dreams we see that the accepted form of the conscious adaptation is not as safe as she would wish to regard it. Unless some provision is made for the acceptance of the irrational and of the instinctive, and the forces of the unconscious are accepted there is danger of a split between these two sides which may result in destroying the supposedly impregnable fortress of the conscious structure.

There is no attempt here to analyze these dreams as one would do if they were brought by adult patients. Many details therefore are not considered. These examples are given only as a suggestion for those students of child nature who are interested in gathering material for such investigations.

To penetrate the phantasy side of child life without doing violence to the child is a most difficult task. Always the child's welfare must take precedence over the desire for scientific knowledge. A knowledge of our own problems, and a relationship of love and trust with the child, and a continuous effort toward greater consciousness first for ourselves then in his own developing life, are the things that we must seek after if we are to have a helpful part in shaping the lives of children.

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